1827
1534
THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

In EIGHT VOLUMES, illustrated with Plates.

By DAVID HUME, Esq.

A NEW EDITION, with the AUTHOR's last CORRECTIONS and IMPROVEMENTS.

To which is prefixed,
A short ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by Himself.

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THE

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

ELIZABETH.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Queen's popularity——Re-establishment of the protestant religion——A parliament——Peace with France——Disgust between the Queen and Mary queen of Scots——Affairs of Scotland——Reformation in Scotland——Civil Wars in Scotland——Interposal of the Queen in the affairs of Scotland——Settlement of Scotland——French affairs——Arrival of Mary in Scotland——Bigotry of the Scotch reformers——Wise government of Elizabeth.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

IN a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another, who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction: Yet so much were men displeased

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1558. Queen's popularity.

with the preſent conduct of affairs, and ſuch apprehenſions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological diſputes, expreſſed a general and unfeigned joy that the ſceptre had paſſed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princeſs had diſcovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her ſiſter; and as men were ſenſible of the imminent danger to which ſhe was every moment expoſed, compaſſion towards her ſituation, and concern for her ſafety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been aſſembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbiſhop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, ſcarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houſes immediately reſounded with the joyful acclamations of "God ſave queen Elizabeth! Long and happily "may ſhe reign!" The people, leſs actuated by faction, and leſs influenced by private views, expreſſed a joy ſtill more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auſpicious commencement of this reign prognoſticated that felicity and glory which, during its whole courſe, ſo uniformly attended it [a].

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when ſhe heard of her ſiſter's death; and, after a few days, ſhe went thence to London through crowds of people, who ſtrove with each other in giving her the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, ſhe could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her preſent fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when ſhe was conducted to that place as a priſoner, and lay there expoſed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expreſſed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody perſecutors; a deliverance, ſhe ſaid, no leſs miraculous than that which

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 373.

Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Bennifield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment [b]. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave prostitute and undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity [c].

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign; and that

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374. [c] Ibid. Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558. one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed, was the prospect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spanish monarchy might still be sufficient, in opposition to all pretenders, to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations [d]. But, while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging, though evasive, answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen too, on her sister's death, had written to sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: That being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: That were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: And that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown,

[d] Camden in Kennet, p. 370. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 375.

and

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and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see[e]. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced.

Re-establishment of the protestant religion.

THE queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state[f]. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her, that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: That happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: That a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even, if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing: That this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever;

e Father Paul, lib. 5. f Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 5.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558. and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: That the curses and execrations of the Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: That though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: That if they encouraged the discontents of her catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: That even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: That the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first enured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed: And that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church, and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant[g].

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 377. Camden, p. 370.

by

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by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion[h]. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: She readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them[i].

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorised by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient stuperstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence[k]; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, to be read in English. And, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the hoste to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which, however

[h] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 378. Camden, p. 371. [i] Heylin, p. 103. [k] Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 41.

CHAP. XXXVIII. frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences[l].

1558. THESE declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment, placed it next her bosom, and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable[m]. Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and, without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: And while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her accession), who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

[l] Camden, p. 371. Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 54. Stowe, p. 635. [m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380. Strype, vol. i. p. 29.

A SOVE-

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A SOVEREIGN of this diſpoſition was not likely to offend her ſubjects by any uſeleſs or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though ſhe threw out ſuch hints as encouraged the proteſtants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The elections had gone entirely againſt the catholics, who ſeem not indeed to have made any great ſtruggle for the ſuperiority [n]; and the houſes met, in a diſpoſition of gratifying the queen in every particular which ſhe could deſire of them. They began the ſeſſion with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as "well by the word of God, as the common and "ſtatute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, "and true heir to the crown, lawfully deſcended "from the blood-royal, according to the order of "ſucceſſion ſettled in the 35th of Henry VIII. [o]" This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herſelf and her miniſters; and ſhe ſhewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which ſhe employed on that occaſion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expreſsly repealing the act formerly made againſt her own legitimacy: She knew that this attempt muſt be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceaſed ſiſter; and as all the world was ſenſible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his uſual violence and caprice, ſhe ſcorned to found her title on any act of an aſſembly which had too much proſtituted its authority by its former variable, ſer-

A parliament.

[n] Notwithſtanding the bias of the nation towards the proteſtant ſect, it appears, that ſome violence, at leaſt according to our preſent ideas, was uſed in theſe elections: Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough and three to each county; and by the ſheriff's authority, the members were choſen from among theſe candidates. *See ſtate papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon*, p. 92.

[o] 1 Eliz. cap. 3.

vile,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558. vile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles [p].

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governess*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony [q]. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should here-

[p] Camden, p. 372. Heylin, p. 107, 108.

[q] 1 Eliz. cap. 1. This last power was anew recognized in the act of uniformity, 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

after be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings indeed were only consistent with absolute monarchy; but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

WHOEVER refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A LAW was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion[r]: The nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the

[r] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

queen,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

THE bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on[s]. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A SOLEMN and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment[t]. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill[u] for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a

[s] Strype, vol. i. p. 79. [t] Ibid. p. 95. [u] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

 reign,

reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: An event which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: They voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths [w]. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: That any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: That even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: That as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she shewed her finger with the same gold ring

[w] See note [A] at the end of the volume.

upon

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration), ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: That if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects' welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example in loving and cheriſhing her people: And that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature: "Here lies Eli-"zabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen [x]."

8th May. AFTER the prorogation of the parliament [y], the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little oppoſition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaffe, having refuſed compliance, were degraded from their ſees; But of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 pariſhes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as

x Camden, p. 375. Sir Simon d'Ewes.

y It is thought remarkable by Camden, that though this ſeſſion was the firſt of the reign, no perſon was attainted; but, on the contrary, ſome reſtored in blood by the parliament: A good ſymptom of the lenity, at leaſt of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it ſhould appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

many

1559.

many deans, ſacrificed their livings to their religious principles [z]. Thoſe in high eccleſiaſtic ſtations, being expoſed to the eyes of the public, ſeem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perſeverance; but on the whole, the proteſtants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conſcientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itſelf to the ſenſes, and enjoining obſervances which enter into the common train of life, does at preſent lay faſter hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly ſpiritual, reſembles more a ſyſtem of metaphyſics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the firſt ages after the reformation, much greater on the ſide of the proteſtants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and ſupinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: But the reformers, obliged to diſpute on every occaſion, and enflamed to a degree of enthuſiaſm by novelty and perſecution, had ſtrongly attached themſelves to their tenets; and were ready to ſacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in ſupport of their ſpeculative and abſtract principles.

The forms and ceremonies ſtill preſerved in the Engliſh liturgy, as they bore ſome reſemblance to the ancient ſervice, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the eſtabliſhed religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worſhip, and at the ſame time ſtruck out every thing that could be offenſive to them in the new liturgy [a], even thoſe who were addicted to the Romiſh communion made no ſcruple of attending the eſtabliſhed church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumſtance with the people, would have been ſtill more ſimilar between the new and the ancient form of worſhip. Her love of ſtate and magnificence, which ſhe affected in every

[z] Camden, p. 370. Heylin, p. 115. Strype, vol. i. p. 73. with ſome ſmall variations. [a] Heylin, p. 111.

thing,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. thing, inſpired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that ſhe gave up either images or the addreſſes to ſaints, or prayers for the dead [b]. Some foreign princes interpoſed to procure the Romaniſts the privilege of ſeparate aſſemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their requeſt; and ſhe repreſented the manifeſt danger of diſturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions [c].

Peace with France.

WHILE the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were ſtill conducted, firſt at Cercamp, then at Cateau-Cambreſis, between the miniſters of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally ſucceſsful in this tranſaction. Philip employed his utmoſt efforts to procure the reſtitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in intereſt to remove France to a diſtance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of eſpouſing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all ſuch views, his miniſters hinted to her a propoſal, which may be regarded as reaſonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were ſettled, he ſeemed willing to continue the war till ſhe ſhould obtain ſatisfaction; provided ſhe would ſtipulate to adhere to the Spaniſh alliance, and continue hoſtilities againſt Henry during the courſe of ſix years [d]: But Elizabeth, after conſulting with her miniſters, wiſely rejected this propoſal. She was ſenſible of the low ſtate of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and ſiſter;

b Burnet, vol. ii. p. 376. 397. Camden, p. 371.
c Camden, p. 378. Strype, vol. i. p. 150. 370.
d Forbes's Full View, vol. i. p. 59.

the

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the diforders introduced into every part of the adminiftration; the divifions by which her people were agitated; and fhe was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during fome years could bring the kingdom again into a flourifhing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her tranfactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impoffibility, during the prefent emergence, of recovering it by treaty, fhe was willing rather to fuffer that lofs, than fubmit to fuch a dependence on Spain, as fhe muft expect to fall into, if fhe continued pertinacioufly in her prefent demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambaffadors, lord Effingham, the bifhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to fettle a peace with Henry, on any reafonable terms. Henry offered to ftipulate a marriage between the eldeft daughter of the dauphin, and the eldeft fon of Elizabeth; and to engage for the reftitution of Calais as the dowry of that princefs [e]; but as the queen was fenfible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evafion, fhe infifted upon more equitable, at leaft more plaufible conditions. It was at laft agreed, that Henry fhould reftore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in cafe of failure, he fhould pay five hundred thoufand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ftill remain; that he fhould find the fecurity of feven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this fum; that he fhould deliver five hoftages till that fecurity were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, fhe fhould forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he fhould be obliged immediately to reftore that fortrefs [f]. All men of penetration eafily

[e] Forbes, vol. i. p. 54.
[f] Forbes, p. 68. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 505.

 faw

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. ſaw that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen on account of the neceſſity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in ſubmitting, without farther ſtruggle, to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France.

PHILIP and Henry terminated hoſtilities by a mutual reſtitution of all places taken during the courſe of the war; and Philip eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his ſon Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's ſiſter, and obtained a reſtitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored to Europe.

Diſguſt between the queen, and Mary queen of Scots.

BUT though peace was concluded between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the moſt ſerious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it ſeemed impoſſible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: But ſtill the birth of Elizabeth lay under ſome diſadvantages, to which that of her ſiſter, Mary, was not expoſed. Henry's firſt marriage had obtained the ſanction of all the powers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for proteſtants, as well as Romaniſts, to allow, on account of the ſincere intention of the parties, that their iſſue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and ſecond marriage had been concluded in direct oppoſition to the ſee of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the Engliſh parliament and convocation, thoſe who were ſtrongly

ſtrongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reaſoned with great ſtrictneſs, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of ſucceſſion. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princeſs, joined to her plauſible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had ſecretly been ſoliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication againſt the queen; and ſhe had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from intereſt more than either friendſhip or generoſity, had negotiated in her favour, and had ſucceſsfully oppoſed the pretenſions of Henry. But the court of France was not diſcouraged with this repulſe: The duke of Guiſe, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece ſhould bring an acceſſion of England, as ſhe had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their perſuaſion, he ordered his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter theſe arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the Engliſh ambaſſador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evaſive anſwer; that as the queen of Scots was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe was entitled, by the example of many princes, to aſſume the arms of that kingdom. But beſides that this practice had never prevailed without permiſſion being firſt obtained, and without making a viſible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly ſaw, that this pretenſion had not been advanced during the reign of her ſiſter Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, ſhe thenceforth conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

Affairs of Scotland. THE murder of the cardinal primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the crown of England, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors. But the progress and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder

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a milder adminiftration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a juft horror againft the cruelties of the bigoted catholics, and fhowed their difciples the fate which they muft expect, if ever their adverfaries fhould attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A HIERARCHY, moderate in its acquifitions of power and riches, may fafely grant a toleration to fectaries; and the more it foftens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more fecurely will it poffefs thofe advantages which the legal eftablifhments beftow upon it. But where fuperftition has raifed a church to fuch an exorbitant height as that of Rome, perfecution is lefs the refult of bigotry in the priefts, than of a neceffary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who befides religious zeal, have fo many other motives, derived both from public and private intereft, to engage them on the fide of innovation. But though fuch overgrown hierarchies may long fupport themfelves by thefe violent expedients, the time comes, when feverities tend only to enrage the new fectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reafon and moderation. This crifis was now vifibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever confiders merely the tranfactions refulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the fituations, will remark the neceffary progrefs of human affairs, and the operation of thofe principles which are inherent in human nature.

Reformation in Scotland.

SOME heads of the reformers in Scotland, fuch as the earl of Argyle, his fon lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencarne, Erfkine of Dun, and others, obferving the danger to which they were expofed, and defirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or affociation; and called themfelves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradif-

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. tinction to the established church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenour of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how "Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, "do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, "ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive, "in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being "certain of the victory in him. We do therefore "promise, before the majesty of God and his "congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with "all diligence continually apply our whole power, "substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set "forward, and establish the most blessed word "of God and his congregation; and shall labour, "by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, "truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and "sacraments to his people: We shall maintain "them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole "congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of "our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, "who may intend tyranny and trouble against the "said congregation: Unto which holy word and "congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, "with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry "thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise "before God, testified to this congregation by our "subscriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December 1557 [g]."

HAD the subscribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome,

[g] Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

they

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they would have had the praife of oppofing tyrannical laws, enacted to fupport an eftablifhment prejudicial to civil fociety: But it is plain, that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately difcovered the fpirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue[h] fhould be ufed in all the parifh churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the fcriptures, fhould be practifed in private houfes, till God fhould move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true minifters[i]. Such bonds of affociation are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invafion of the eftablifhed religion was the actual commencement of it.

BEFORE this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progrefs of the reformation, attempted to recover their loft authority by a violent exercife of power, which tended ftill farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, feized Walter Mill, a prieft of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for herefy. Such general averfion was entertained againft this barbarity, that it was fome time before the bifhops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce fentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the fhops of St. Andrews being fhut, no one would fell a rope to tie him to the ftake, and the primate himfelf was obliged to furnifh this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage which, though ufual

[h] The reformers ufed at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland. Forbes, p. 155.

[i] Keith, p. 66. Knox. p. 101.

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on these occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace [k]. It is in vain for men to oppose the severest punishment to the united motives of religion and public applause; and this was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

SOME time after, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate which was awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and they pleased themselves with imagining the surprise and disappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed hastily a new image, which, in derision, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abstained from violence so long as the queen-regent continued a spectator, but the moment she retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the priests and friars, who, it was remarked, deserted in his greatest distress the object of their worship, was the source of universal mockery and laughter.

ENCOURAGED by all these appearances, the Congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly soliciting

[k] Knox, p. 122.

subscriptions

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ſubſcriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the acceſſion of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increaſe their hopes of final ſucceſs in their undertaking. They ventured to preſent a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the *wicked*, *ſcandalous*, and *deteſtable* lives of the prelates and eccleſiaſtics [l]. They framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, and in which, after premiſing that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuſes of the papiſtical church, they deſired, that the laws againſt heretics ſhould be executed by the civil magiſtrate alone, and that the ſcripture ſhould be the ſole rule in judging of hereſy [m]. They even petitioned the convocation, and inſiſted that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, and that biſhops ſhould be choſen with the conſent of the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners [n]. The regent prudently temporiſed between theſe parties; and as ſhe aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her ſon-in-law, the dauphin, ſhe was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

But after this conceſſion was obtained, ſhe received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent ſpirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour againſt the reformers, and to reſtore the royal authority by ſome ſignal act of power [o]. She made the more eminent of the proteſtant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, ſhe entertained apprehenſions of an inſurrection,

[l] Knox, p. 121. [m] Ibid. p. 123. [n] Keith, p. 78. 81, 82.
[o] Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 446.

and,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559. and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise [p], that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels, on account of their not appearing: A measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities against the clergy of the established religion.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own 11th May. character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his usual vehemence against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so imprudent after this sermon, as to open his repository of images and reliques, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprise, were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: They attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases; and left no implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monasteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an instant: The Carthusians underwent the same fate: And the populace, not content with robbing and expelling

[p] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of theſe edifices were left ſtanding. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife ſoon after imitated the example [q].

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Civil wars in Scotland.

The queen-regent, provoked at theſe violences, aſſembled an army, and prepared to chaſtiſe the rebels. She had about two thouſand French under her command, with a few Scottiſh troops; and being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as were well affected to her, ſhe pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterpriſe, either becauſe they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence and authority, to mediate ſome agreement between the parties. The Congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencarne from the weſt, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They ſent an addreſs to the regent, where they plainly inſinuated, that if they were purſued to extremities by the *cruel beaſts* the churchmen, they would have recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance; and they ſubſcribed themſelves her faithful ſubjects in all things not repugnant to God, aſſuming, at the ſame time, the name of the faithful congregation of Chriſt Jeſus [r]. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained that their own paſt violences were juſtified by the word of God, which commands the godly to deſtroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was ſacred, yet was there a great difference

[q] Spotſwood, p. 121. Knox, p. 127. [r] Knox, p. 129.

between

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between the authority and the persons who exercised it[s]; and that it ought to be considered, whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent papists, Religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors "by God, they should likewise be excommunicated "from their society, and from the participation of "the sacraments of the church, which God by his "mighty power had erected among them; whose "ministers have the same authority which Christ "granted to his apostles in these words, *Whose sins* "*ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins* "*ye shall retain shall be retained*[t]." We may here see, that these new saints were no less lofty in their pretensions than the ancient hierarchy: No wonder they were enraged against the latter as their rivals in dominion. They joined to all these declarations an address to the established church; and they affixed this title to it: "To the generation of antichrist, "the pestilent prelates and their shavelings[u] in "Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within "the same sayeth." The tenour of the manifesto was suitable to the title. They told the ecclesiastics, "As ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our "bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in "bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall "we with all the force and power which God shall "grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you: Yea, we shall begin that same war "which God commanded Israel to execute against "the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall "never be made till you desist from your open "idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children.

[s] Knox, p. 131. [t] Ibid. p. 133. [u] A contemptuous term for a priest.

"And

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"And this, in the name of the eternal God, and "of his son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, "and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered, we signify unto you, "to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to "withstand your idolatry. Take this for warning, "and be not deceived [w]." With these outrageous symptoms, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which long infested that kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is still ready to break out on all occasions.

THE queen regent, finding such obstinate zeal in the rebels, was content to embrace the counsels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which submitted, on her promising an indemnity for past offences, and engaging not to leave any French garrison in the place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were molested on account of the late violences; and some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which step, though taken on very plausible grounds, was loudly exclaimed against by the Congregation [x]. It is asserted, that the regent, to justify these measures, declared that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics; and that for her part, could she find as good a colour, she would willingly bereave all these men of their lives and fortunes [y]. But it is no wise likely that such expressions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princess. On the contrary, it appears, that all these violences were disagreeable to her;

[w] Keith, p. 85, 86, 87. Knox, p. 134. [x] Knox, p. 139. [y] Ibid. Spotswood, p. 123.

that

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that ſhe was in this particular over-ruled by the authority of the French counſellors placed about her; and that ſhe often thought, if the management of thoſe affairs had been entruſted wholly to herſelf, ſhe could eaſily, without force, have accommodated all differences [z].

THE Congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by theſe diſappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had ſigned a new covenant, in which, beſides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in deſtroying every thing that diſhonoured his holy name; and this covenant was ſubſcribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews [a]. Theſe two leaders now deſired no better pretence for deſerting the regent and openly joining their aſſociates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather falſe, of her breach of promiſe. The Congregation alſo, encouraged by this acceſſion of force, gave themſelves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anſtruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monaſteries with thoſe formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched againſt them with her army, finding their power ſo much increaſed, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to paſs over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers beſieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exerciſed their uſual fury; finding nothing able to reſiſt them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the Congregation againſt the churches and monaſteries,

[z] See note [C] at the end of the volume.
[a] Keith, p. 89. Knox, p. 138.

gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her, took ſhelter in Dunbar, where ſhe fortified herſelf, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

MEANWHILE, ſhe employed her partiſans in repreſenting to the people the dangerous conſequences of this open rebellion; and ſhe endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the ſcheme of wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of the ſovereign. By theſe conſiderations many were engaged to deſert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay, or any means of ſubſiſtence; and the regent obſerving the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh with a deſign of ſuppreſſing them. On the interpoſition of the duke of Chatelrault, who ſtill adhered to her, ſhe agreed to a capitulation, in which ſhe granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publiſh only the articles favourable to themſelves, and they were guilty of an impoſture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry ſhould not again be erected in any place where it was at that time ſuppreſſed [b].

AN agreement, concluded while men were in this diſpoſition, could not be durable; and both ſides endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves as much as poſſible, againſt the enſuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of one thouſand men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the Congregation ſeduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at laſt determined by the arrival of his ſon, the earl of Arran, from

[b] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

France,

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France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which they justly presumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery[c].

THE constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be dissolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would soon become, instead of allies attached by interest and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for sending over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for attainting the rebels[d], and for preparing means thence to invade England, and support Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the Congregation, well acquainted with these views, were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to

c Spotswood, p. 134. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 10.
d Forbes, vol. i. p. 139. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 13.

evacuate

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evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest[e]. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the Congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth.

Interposition of the queen in Scotch affairs.

THE wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negotiation, to prevent it: That the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: That the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French

[e] See note [E] at the end of the volume.

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counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: That, deeming themselves secure of success, they had already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over, by every courier, incontestable proofs of their hostile intentions[f]: That they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: That the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforcement, and would disturb every measure of defence against that formidable power: That the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the present opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident necessity, and directed only to the ends of self-preservation: That though a French war, attended with great expence, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: And that the domestic dissensions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise[g].

[f] Forbes, vol. i. p. 134. 136. 149, 150. 159. 165. 181. 194. 229. 231. 235—241. 253. [g] Forbes, vol. i. p. 387. Jebb, vol. i. p. 448. Keith, Append. 24.

ELIZABETH's propenſity to caution and œconomy was, though with ſome difficulty[h], overcome by theſe powerful motives; and ſhe prepared herſelf to ſupport, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: She appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ſhe aſſembled at Berwic an army of eight thouſand men under the command of Lord Grey, warden of the eaſt and middle marches. Though the court of France, ſenſible of the danger, offered her to make immediate reſtitution of Calais, provided ſhe would not interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland; ſhe reſolutely replied, that ſhe never would put an inconſiderable fiſhing-town in competition with the ſafety of her dominions[i]; and ſhe ſtill continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland[k]. And having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations. 1559.

THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith diſconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themſelves for defence. The Engliſh army, reinforced by five thouſand Scots[l], ſat down before the place; and after two ſkirmiſhes, 1560. 15th Jan.

[h] Forbes, vol. i. p. 454. 460. [i] Spotſwood, p. 146. [k] Knox, p. 217. Haynes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 153. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 569.
[l] Haynes, vol. i. p. 256. 259.

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in the former of which the Engliſh had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulſed with conſiderable loſs in a raſh and ill-conducted aſſault, they reduced the garriſon to great difficulties. Their diſtreſs was augmented by two events; the diſperſion by a ſtorm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a conſiderable army on board[m], and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which ſhone forth in her family, but poſſeſſed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt for want of proviſions, and who ſaw, that the Engliſh were continually reinforced by freſh numbers, were obliged to capitulate: And the Biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated, that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be umpire between the crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen of Scots ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve

5th July.

Settlement of Scotland.

m Haynes, vol. i. p. 223.

ſhould

ſhould the whole adminiſtration be placed during their queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates[n]. In order to haſten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

Thus Europe ſaw, in the firſt tranſaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her miniſters. She diſcerned at a diſtance the danger which threatened her; and inſtantly took vigorous meaſures to prevent it. Making all poſſible advantages of her ſituation, ſhe proceeded with celerity to a deciſion; and was not diverted by any offers, negotiations, or remonſtrances of the French court. She ſtopped not till ſhe had brought the matter to a final iſſue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies truſted for her deſtruction, into her firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottiſh malcontents, even during their greateſt diſtreſſes, ſhe eſtabliſhed an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, intereſt, and religion, ſhe now poſſeſſed an influence over them beyond what remained even with their native ſovereign. The regard, which ſhe acquired by this dexterous and ſpirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her ſiſter, though ſupported by all the power of the Spaniſh monarchy[o].

The ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely maſters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or ſcruple in fully effecting their purpoſe. In the treaty of Edin-

[n] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 593. Keith, p. 137. Spotſwood, p. 147. Knox, p. 229. [o] Forbes, vol. i. p. 354. 372. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 452.

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burgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention ſhould ſoon be aſſembled; and the leaders of the Congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots ſhould ratify that treaty, thought themſelves fully entitled, without the ſovereign's authority, immediately to ſummon a parliament. The reformers preſented a petition to this aſſembly; in which they were not contented with deſiring the eſtabliſhment of their doctrine; they alſo applied for the puniſhment of the catholics, whom they called vaſſals to the Roman harlot; and they aſſerted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, ſuch is there expreſſion, there was not one lawful miniſter; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be ſuffered in any reformed commonwealth [p]. The parliament ſeem to have been actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. After ratifying a confeſſion of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they paſſed a ſtatute againſt the maſs, and not only aboliſhed it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was preſent at it, ſhould be chaſtiſed, for the firſt offence, with confiſcation of goods and corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the magiſtrate; for the ſecond, with baniſhment; and for the third, with loſs of life [q]. A law was alſo voted for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland: The preſbyterian form of diſcipline was ſettled, leaving only at firſt ſome ſhadow of authority to certain eccleſiaſtics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injuſtice committed on them by the invaſion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at laſt, theſe eccleſiaſtics, tired with

[p] Knox, p. 237, 238. [q] Ibid. p. 254.

fruitleſs

1560.

fruitlefs attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as nobody prefented himfelf, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclefiaftics were entirely fatisfied, and found no reafon of complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was fent over to France to obtain the ratification of thefe acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament fummoned without the royal confent; and fhe refufed her fanction to thofe ftatutes. But the proteftants gave themfelves little concern about their queen's refufal. They immediately put the ftatutes in execution: They abolifhed the mafs; they fettled their minifters; they committed every where furious devaftations on the monafteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took poffeffion, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclefiaftical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority fufficient to incite them to war and infurrection, could not reftrain their rapacity; and fanaticifm concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The proteftant nobility and gentry, united by the confcioufnefs of fuch unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new poffeffions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the houfe of Guife, faw no fafety for themfelves but in the protection of England; and they difpatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington, to exprefs their fincere gratitude to the queen for her paft favours, and reprefent to her the neceffity of continuing them.

French affairs.

Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reafon to maintain a union with the Scottifh proteftants; and foon found that the houfe of Guife, notwithftanding their former difappointments, had not laid afide the defign of contefting her title, and fubverting

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560. her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen against the measures of the duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had engrossed all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of every quality which could command the esteem or seduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquisitions and pretensions. The constable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: The princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: The queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: And as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the contests of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority.

The theological disputes, first started in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion

religion were secretly increasing in every province. Henry II. in imitation of his father Francis, had opposed the progress of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleasure and society, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party; and a point of honour seemed to have arisen, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer, most barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild dispositions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who possessed many great qualities, having declared themselves in favour of the protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother, Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed sincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and after a frustrated attempt of the malcontents to seize the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth had probably some intelligence[r], every place was full of distraction,

[r] Forbes, vol. i. p. 214. Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to entrust to letters the great secrets committed to him, obtained leave, under some pretext, to come over to London.

and

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560. and matters haftened to an open rupture between the parties. But the houfe of Guife, though thefe factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief caufe of Elizabeth's fuccefs, were determined not to relinquifh their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of feizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prifon; they obtained a fentence of death againft the latter; and they were proceeding to put the fentence into execution, when the king's fudden death faved the noble prifoner, and interrupted the profperity of the duke of Guife. 4th Dec. 1561. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her fon Charles IX. now in his minority: The king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: The fentence againft Condé was annulled: The conftable was recalled to court: And the family of Guife, though they ftill enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoife to their authority.

ELIZABETH was determined to make advantage of thefe events againft the queen of Scots, whom fhe ftill regarded as a dangerous rival. She faw herfelf freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretenfions of fo powerful a prince as Francis; but fhe confidered, at the fame time, that the Englifh catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princefs with more zealous attachment, when they faw that her fucceffion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambaffador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minifter, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

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burgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions.

MEANWHILE, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe-conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England[s]: But she received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, "or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, "I cannot tell: However, I am resolved not to "have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your "mistress had at her audience of my ambassador "D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, "as the having asked, with so much importunity, "a favour which it was of no consequence for me "to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to "my own country without *her* leave; as I came to "France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: Neither do I want friends

[s] Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

"both

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" both able and willing to conduct me home, as " they have brought me hither; though I was de- " sirous rather to make an experiment of your mis- " tress's friendship, than of the assistance of any " other person. I have often heard you say, that " a good correspondence between her and myself " would conduce much to the security and hap- " piness of both our kingdoms: Were she well " convinced of this truth, she would hardly have " denied me so small a request. But, perhaps, she " bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects " than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal " dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted " heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, " I ask nothing at her hands: I neither trouble " her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her " state: Not that I am ignorant, that there are " now in England a great many malcontents, who " are no friends to the present establishment. She " is pleased to upbraid me as a person little expe- " rienced in the world: I freely own it; but age " will cure that defect. However, I am already " old enough to acquit myself honestly and courte- " ously to my friends and relations, and to encou- " rage no reports of your mistress, which would " misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would " also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well " as she, and not altogether friendless: And, per- " haps, I have as great a soul too; so that me- " thinks we should be upon a level in our treatment " of each other. As soon as I have consulted the " states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give " her a reasonable answer; and I am the more in- " tent on my journey, in order to make the quicker " dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends " to stop my journey; so that either she will not " let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to " be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up the " disagreement between us. She has often re-

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" proached me with my being young; and I muſt " be very young indeed, and as ill-adviſed, to treat of " matters of ſuch great concern and importance " without the advice of my parliament. I have not " been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but " ſhe diſbelieves or overlooks them. I could " heartily wiſh, that I were as nearly allied to her " in affection as in blood: For that, indeed, would " be a moſt valuable alliance[t]."

Such a ſpirited reply, notwithſtanding the obliging terms interſperſed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendſhip between theſe rival princeſſes, or cure thoſe mutual jealouſies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet in a fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and ſituation was very little agreeable to that princeſs. Beſides her natural prepoſſeſſions in favour of a country in which ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſhe had borne ſo high a rank, ſhe could not forbear both regretting the ſociety of that people, ſo celebrated for their humane diſpoſition, and their reſpectful attachment to their ſovereign, and reflecting on the diſparity of the ſcene which lay before her. It is ſaid that, after ſhe was embarked at Calais, ſhe kept her eyes fixed on the coaſt of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkneſs fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be ſpread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning the land were ſtill

19th Aug. Arrival of Mary in Scotland.

[t] Caballa, p. 374. Spotſwood, p. 177.

in

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in ſight, he ſhould awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, ſo that the ſhip made little way in the night-time: And Mary had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and ſtill looking towards the land, often repeated theſe words: "Farewell, France, farewell: I ſhall never "ſee thee more[u]." The firſt aſpect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleaſure and happineſs, at leaſt to her repoſe and ſecurity, than ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. No ſooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the ſhore with an earneſt impatience to behold and receive their young ſovereign. Some were led by duty, ſome by intereſt, ſome by curioſity; and all combined to expreſs their attachment to her, and to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence, on the commencement of her adminiſtration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her perſon were farther recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accompliſhed in all the ſuperficial, but engaging graces of a court, ſhe afforded, when better known, ſtill more promiſing indications of her character; and men prognoſticated both humanity from her ſoft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taſte in all the refined arts of muſic, eloquence, and poetry[w]. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, whom they once deſpaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; and no-

[u] Keith, p. 179. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 483. [w] Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 9. Spotſwood, p. 178, 179. Keith, p. 180. Thuan. lib. xxix. c. 2.

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thing appeared about the court, but ſymptoms of affection, joy, and feſtivity. CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE firſt meaſures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France by D'Oiſel and the biſhop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and ſhe beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greateſt influence over the people, and who, ſhe found, were alone able to ſupport her government. Her brother, lord James, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, ſecretary of ſtate, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. By the vigour of theſe men's meaſures ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh order and juſtice in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, ſeemed, for a time, to ſubmit peaceably to her gentle and prudent adminiſtration. 1561.

BUT there was one circumſtance which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her juſt reaſon to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and though ſhe publiſhed ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted with ſo great an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion for ſaying maſs in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that, if ſhe had here met with a refuſal, ſhe would inſtantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that ſmall indulgence. The cry was, "Shall we ſuffer that idol to be again erected "within the realm?" It was aſſerted in the pulpit, that

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that one mafs was more terrible than ten thoufand armed men landed to invade the kingdom[x]; lord Lindefey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That the idolator fhould die the death;" fuch was their expreffion. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worfhip, was attacked and infulted in the court of the palace: And if lord James, and fome popular leaders, had not interpofed, the moft dangerous uproar, was juftly apprehended, from the ungoverned fury of the multitude[y]. The ufual prayers in the churches were to this purpofe: That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obftinate againft him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwife, that he would ftrengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, ftoutly to oppofe the rage of all tyrants[z]. Nay, it was openly called in queftion, whether that princefs, being an idolatrefs, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters[a]?

THE helplefs queen was every moment expofed to contumely, which fhe bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival fhe dined in the caftle of Edinburgh, and it was there contrived, that a boy, fix years of age, fhould be let down from the roof, and fhould prefent her with a bible, a pfalter, and the keys of the caftle. Left fhe fhould be at a lofs to underftand this infult on her as a papift, all the decorations expreffed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punifhments inflicted by God upon idolatry[b]. The town council of Edinburgh had the affurance, from their own authority, to iffue a proclamation, banifhing from their diftrict "all the wicked rabble of antichrift, the pope, fuch "as priefts, monks, friars, together with adulterers "and fornicators[c]." And becaufe the privy-council fufpended the magiftrates for their infolence, the paf-

x Knox, p. 287. y Ibid. p. 284, 285. 287. Spotfwood, p. 179. z Keith, p. 179. a Ibid, p. 202. b Ibid. p. 189. c Ibid. p. 192.

fionate

sionate historians [d] of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed [e]. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

But all the insolence of the people was inconsiderable in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess. The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling her, that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would ere this time have preferred truth to her own pre-conceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They required, that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded with demanding for themselves some addition both of power and property [f].

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favour, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her

[d] Knox, p. 292. Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 20. Haynes, vol. i. p. 372.
[e] Keith, p. 202. [f] Knox, p. 311, 312.

 whenever

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whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blamable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: But he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation [g]. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero [h]; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel feared not to "slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, "whom king Saul had saved: Neither spared Elias "Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, though "King Ahab was present. Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike "Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, Madam, your grace may see, "that others than chief magistrates may lawfully "inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God [i]." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: The title of it is, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women.* He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct shewed, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female sex.

THE whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to

[g] Knox, p. 310. [h] Ibid. p. 288. [i] Ibid. p. 326.

inform

inform us, that he once treated her with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe loſt all command of temper, and diſſolved in tears before him: Yet ſo far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he perſevered in his inſolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he diſcovers a viſible pride and ſatisfaction in his own conduct[k]. The pulpits had become mere ſcenes of railing againſt the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendant[l]. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that ſuch vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only againſt theſe fooliſh women, but againſt the whole realm[m].

MARY, whoſe age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulneſs, was curbed in all amuſements by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers; and ſhe found every moment reaſon to regret her leaving that country, from whoſe manners ſhe had, in her early youth, received the firſt impreſſions[n]. Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, ſoon took leave of her: The marquis of Elbeuf remained ſome time longer; but after his departure, ſhe was left to the ſociety of her own ſubjects; men unacquainted with the pleaſures of converſation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted beyond their uſual ruſticity, by a diſmal fanaticiſm, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to reſtore the ancient religion, her popery was a ſufficient crime: Though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners ſweet and engaging, her gaiety and eaſe were interpreted as ſigns of diſ-

[k] Knox, p. 332, 333. [l] Ibid. p. 322. [m] Ibid. p. 330. [n] Ibid. p. 294.

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THERE happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her ſituation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and ſome other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a viſit to a woman called Aliſon Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and becauſe they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thruſt open the door, and committed ſome diſorders in ſearching for the damſel. It happened, that the aſſembly of the church was ſitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with ſeveral of the nobility, they preſented an addreſs to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude: "To the queen's majeſty, and to her ſecret and "great council, her grace's faithful and obedient "ſubjects, the profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus's holy "evangil, wiſh the ſpirit of righteous judgment." The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God againſt every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the ſevere puniſhment of ſuch as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God againſt the whole realm: That the iniquity of which they complained, was ſo heinous and ſo horrible, that they ſhould eſteem themſelves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or ſervile complaiſance, to paſs it over in ſilence, or bury it in oblivion: That as they owed her grace obedience in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſo were they entitled to require of her,

her, in return, the ſharp and condign puniſhment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: And that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aſide all private affections towards the actors in ſo heinous a crime, and ſo enormous a villany, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the ſevereſt penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory addreſs; but becauſe ſhe probably thought that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not ſuch ſevere reprehenſion, ſhe only replied, that her uncle was a ſtranger, and that he was attended by a young company: But ſhe would put ſuch order to him and to all others, that her ſubjects ſhould henceforth have no reaſon to complain. Her paſſing over this incident ſo ſlightly was the ſource of great diſcontent, and was regarded as a proof of the moſt profligate manners [o]. It is not to be omitted, that Aliſon Craig, the cauſe of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without ſcruple, indulged in that enormity [p].

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Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her abſence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the moſt conſiderable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy ſacraments, he there ſaid, are abuſed by profane papiſts; the maſs has been ſaid; and in worſhipping that idol, the prieſts have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accurſed water, that had ever been practiſed in the time of the greateſt blindneſs. Theſe violent meaſures for oppoſing juſtice

[o] Knox, p. 302, 303, 304. Keith, p. 509. [p] Knox, ibid.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561. were little ſhort of rebellion; and Knox was ſummoned before the council to anſwer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his inſolence. He ſcrupled not to tell the queen, that the peſtilent papiſts, who had inflamed her againſt theſe holy men, were the ſons of the devil; and muſt therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manſlayer from the beginning. The matter ended with a full acquittal of Knox[q]. Randolph, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, had reaſon to write to Cecil, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh nation: "I think marvellouſly of the wiſdom of "God, that gave this unruly, inconſtant, and cum-"berſome people no more power nor ſubſtance: "For they would otherwiſe run wild[r]."

We have related theſe incidents at greater length than the neceſſity of our ſubject may ſeem to require: But even trivial circumſtances, which ſhow the manners of the age, are often more inſtructive, as well as entertaining, than the great tranſactions of wars and negociations, which are nearly ſimilar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at this time, a very natural reaſon for their ill-humour, namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at firſt laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any proviſion for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their poſſeſſions. The ſecular clergy of the catholic communion, though they loſt all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſtill held ſome of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themſelves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themſelves by the plunder of the

q Knox, p. 336. 342. r Keith, p. 202.

church,

church. The new teachers had hitherto ſubſiſted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious ſentiments, this eſtabliſhment was regarded as very ſcanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal ſettlement to the preachers; and though almoſt every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their requeſt was at laſt complied with. The fanatical ſpirit which they indulged, and their induſtry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romiſh communion, which placed ſuch merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very ſenſible obſtacle to their acquiſitions. The convention, however, paſſed a vote[s], by which they divided all the eccleſiaſtical benefices into twenty-one ſhares: They aſſigned fourteen to the ancient poſſeſſors: Of the remaining ſeven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to anſwer the public expences, they beſtowed the overplus on the reformed miniſters. The queen was empowered to levy all the ſeven; and it was ordained that ſhe ſhould afterwards pay to the clergy what ſhould be judged to ſuffice for their maintenance. The neceſſities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the ſmall affection which Mary bore to the proteſtant eccleſiaſtics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were neceſſitated to betake themſelves to other expedients for ſupporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, moroſe manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet myſterious cant; and though the liberality of ſubſequent princes put them

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[s] Knox, p. 296. Keith, p. 210.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561. afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in ſome degree thoſe bad habits; it muſt be confeſſed, that, while many other advantages attend preſbyterian government, theſe inconveniencies are not eaſily ſeparated from the genius of that eccleſiaſtical polity.

THE queen of Scots, deſtitute of all force, poſſeſſing a narrow revenue, ſurrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, ſoon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preſerve a good correſpondence with Elizabeth [t], who, by former connexions and ſervices, had acquired ſuch authority over all theſe ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, ſecretary Lidington was ſent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and expreſs her deſire of friendſhip and a good correſpondence; and he received a commiſſion from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendſhip, that Mary ſhould, by act of parliament or by proclamation (for the difference between theſe ſecurities was not then deemed very conſiderable), be declared ſucceſſor to the crown. No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once diſcovered her intention not to wait for the ſucceſſion, but had openly, without ceremony or reſerve, aſſumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a ſuperior right to her throne and kingdom: That though her ambaſſadors, and thoſe of her huſband, the French king, had ſigned a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promiſed ſatisfaction for ſo great an indignity, ſhe was ſo intoxicated with this imaginary right, that ſhe had rejected the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, and even, as ſome endeavoured

[t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 456.

to perſuade her, had incurred ſome danger in croſſing the ſeas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: That her partiſans every where had ſtill the aſſurance to inſiſt on her title, and had preſumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: That while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, ſo far from being openly renounced, was only ſuſpended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the moſt egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the ſucceſſor: That no expedient could be worſe imagined for cementing friendſhip than ſuch a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good-will to their ſucceſſors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was leſs intimate, and when ſuch cauſe of diſguſt and jealouſy had already been given, and indeed was ſtill continued, on the part of Mary: That though ſhe was willing, from the amity which ſhe bore her kinſwoman, to aſcribe her former pretenſions to the advice of others, by whoſe direction ſhe was then governed; her preſent refuſal to relinquiſh them could proceed only from her own prepoſſeſſions, and was a proof that ſhe ſtill harboured ſome dangerous deſigns againſt her: That it was the nature of all men to be diſguſted with the preſent, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their ſervices ill rewarded, to expect a better recompenſe from the ſucceſſor; and ſhe ſhould eſteem herſelf ſcarcely half a ſovereign over the Engliſh, if they ſaw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority againſt her own repoſe and ſafety: That ſhe knew the inconſtant nature of the people; ſhe was acquainted with the preſent diviſions in religion; ſhe was not ignorant that the ſame party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did alſo imagine that the title

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of that princess was superior to her own: That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws, or by the right of blood, to the succession: That she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: And that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point which, for her own part, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretensions[u].

THESE views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: But that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession[w]; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor[x]. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pre-

[u] Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 14—17. Camden, p. 385. Spotswood, p. 180, 181. [w] Ibid. p. 181. [x] Haynes, vol. i. p. 377.

tensions

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tenſions for the preſent, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily reſume her claim on the firſt opportunity. Mary's propoſal, however, bore ſo ſpecious an appearance of equity and juſtice, that Elizabeth, ſenſible that reaſon would, by ſuperficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that ſide, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other.

Wiſe government of Elizabeth.

The queen obſerved that, even without her interpoſition, Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed by the mutinous ſpirit of her own ſubjects; and inſtead of giving Scotland, for the preſent, any inquietude or diſturbance, ſhe employed herſelf, more uſefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happineſs of her people. She made ſome progreſs in paying thoſe great debts which lay upon the crown; ſhe regulated the coin, which had been much debaſed by her predeceſſors; ſhe furniſhed her arſenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and braſs cannon; fortified her frontiers on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and ſuggeſting like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtyled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas[y]. The natural frugality of her temper, ſo far from incapacitating her from theſe

[y] Camden, p. 388. Strype, vol. i. p. 230. 336, 337.

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great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

It is easy to imagine that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from every one that had any likelihood of succeeding; and though she had made some public declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would persevere for ever in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor [z], as well as Casimir, son of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he thought himself on that account better entitled to succeed in his addresses. Eric king of Sweden, and Adolph duke of Holstein, were encouraged, by the same views, to become suitors: And the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, a person declining in years, but descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favour ascribed to some vio-

[z] Haynes, vol. i. p. 233.

lent

lent affection, which could thus ſeduce the judgment of this penetrating princeſs; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above ſo many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all theſe ſuitors a gentle refuſal, which ſtill encouraged their purſuit; and ſhe thought that ſhe ſhould the better attach them to her intereſts if they were ſtill allowed to entertain hopes of ſucceeding in their pretenſions. It is alſo probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though ſhe was determined in her own mind never to ſhare her power with any man, ſhe was not diſpleaſed with the courtſhip, ſolicitation, and profeſſions of love, which the deſire of acquiring ſo valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is moſt ſingular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though ſhe determined never to have any heir of her own body, ſhe was not only very averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown; but ſeems alſo to have reſolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heirs or ſucceſſors. If the excluſion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the poſterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the houſe of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Gray, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, ſon of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, ſhe made a private marriage with the the earl of Hertford, ſon of the protector; and her huſband, ſoon after conſummation, travelled into France. In a little time ſhe appeared to be pregnant, which ſo enraged Elizabeth, that ſhe threw her into the Tower, and ſummoned Hertford to appear, in order to anſwer for his miſdemeanor.

He

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561. He made no ſcruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's conſent, was entirely ſuitable to both parties; and for this offence he was alſo committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's ſeverity ſtopped not here: She iſſued a commiſſion to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds be ſet on Hertford by the ſtar-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty[a]. This extreme ſeverity muſt be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealouſy of the queen, who was afraid leſt a pretender to the ſucceſſion ſhould acquire credit by having iſſue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, thoſe natural pleaſures of love and poſterity, of which her own ambition and deſire of dominion made her renounce all proſpect for herſelf.

THERE happened, about this time, ſome other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and deſcended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Forteſcue, who had married a ſiſter of theſe gen-

[a] Haynes, vol. i. p. 369. 378. 396. Camden, p. 389. Heylin, p. 154.

tlemen,

tlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant to execute these projects during the queen's life-time: They had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's clemency [b].

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[b] Strype, vol. i. p. 333. Heylin, p. 154.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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State of Europe —— Civil wars of France —— Havre de Grace put in possession of the English —— A parliament —— Havre lost —— Affairs of Scotland —— The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley —— Confederacy against the Protestants —— Murder of Rizzio —— A parliament —— Murder of Darnley —— Queen of Scots marries Bothwel —— Insurrections in Scotland —— Imprisonment of Mary —— Mary flies into England —— Conferences at York and Hampton-Court.

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1562. State of Europe.

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom, during the course of near forty years, a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

PHILIP II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great industry and sagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprises, an unusual foresight in all his measures; and as he was ever cool and seemingly unmoved by passion, and possessed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his subjects and his neighbours had reason to expect justice, happiness, and tranquillity, from his administration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever passion had on any other monarch; and the spirit of bigotry and tyranny

ranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counſels, excited the moſt violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the moſt enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combuſtion.

After Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, and had remained ſome time in the Netherlands, in order to ſettle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their reſpectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour than the homely familiar manners and the pernicious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected that he would, for the future, reſide altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extenſive dominions by Spaniſh miniſters and Spaniſh counſels. Having met with a violent tempeſt on his voyage, he no ſooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentially ſaved, ſhould thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of hereſy [c]. His ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let looſe the rage of perſecution againſt all who profeſſed them, or were ſuſpected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whoſe arms that great monarch had terminated his life: And after this eccleſiaſtic died in confinement, he ſtill ordered him to be tried and condemned for hereſy, and his ſtatue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſ-

[c] Thuanus, lib. xxiii. cap. 14.

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pected, during his later years, to have indulged a propenſity towards the Lutheran principles: In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition: He was preſent, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions: He iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: And, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his ſubjects, that there was no method, except the moſt entire compliance, or moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to eſcape or elude the ſeverity of his vengeance.

During that extreme animoſity which prevailed between the adherents of the oppoſite religions, the civil magiſtrate, who found it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the ſame laws to govern ſuch enraged adverſaries, was naturally led, by ſpecious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war againſt the other, and to exterminate, by fire and ſword, thoſe bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an oppoſition of his power, and to a hatred of his perſon. If any prince poſſeſſed ſuch enlarged views as to foreſee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy which, though certain, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by ſelf-intereſt, ſeems alſo to have been himſelf actuated by an imperious bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could eaſily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wiſdom, and find, in this ſyſtem, no leſs advantage to his foreign than his domeſtic politics. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, he converted

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the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he seduced every where the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, protestants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause; and fortune, in this instance, concurred with policy and nature.

During the life-time of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England[d]; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded

[d] Digges's Complete Ambassador, p. 369. Haynes, p. 585. Strype, Vol. iv. No. 246.

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his friendſhip as hollow and precarious[e]. But no ſooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehenſions with regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his animoſity againſt Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the intereſts of Spain and thoſe of England were found oppoſite in every negotiation and tranſaction.

The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being poſſeſſed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagoniſts; and England, from its power and ſituation, was entitled to ſupport its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depreſs one of theſe rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the intereſts of England; yet ſo much were theſe great maxims of policy over-ruled, during that age, by the diſputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

Civil wars of France.

The queen-regent of France, when reinſtated in authority by the death of her ſon, Francis, had formed a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtle than judicious; and, balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guiſe with the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience[f]. But the equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, prove always the ground of quarrel between domeſtic factions; and if the animoſity of religion concur with the frequent occaſions which preſent tnemſelves of mutual injury, it is impoſſible, during any time, to preſerve a firm concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. The conſtable,

[e] Haynes, vol. i. p. 280, 281. 283, 284. [f] Davila, lib. ii.

Montmo-

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Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe: The king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party: And Catherine, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection [g]. An edict had been publiſhed, granting a toleration to the proteſtants; but the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual inſults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, Andelot, aſſembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guiſe and Montmorency got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and conſtrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France [h]: Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon; brother againſt brother; and women themſelves, ſacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of ferocity and valour [i]. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demoliſhed, the monaſteries conſumed with fire: Where ſucceſs attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, conſtrained married perſons to paſs anew through the nuptial ceremony: And plunder, deſolation, and bloodſhed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itſelf, the ſeat of law and juſtice, inſtead of employing its authority to compoſe theſe fatal quarrels, publiſhed an edict by which it put the ſword into the hands of the enraged

g Davila, lib. iii. h Father Paul, lib. vii. i Ibid.

 multitude,

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multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to maſſacre the hugonots[k]: And it was during this period, when men began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for poliſhed manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, ſeems to have attained its laſt ſtage of virulence and ferocity.

PHILIP, jealous of the progreſs which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would ſpread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Guiſe, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. He now ſent ſix thouſand men, with ſome ſupply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himſelf unequal to ſo great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to diſpatch the Vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the aſſiſtance and protection of Elizabeth. Moſt of the province of Normandy was poſſeſſed by the hugonots: And Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the Engliſh; on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, the queen ſhould likewiſe ſend over three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and ſhould furniſh the prince with a ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns[l].

Havre de Grace put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

ELIZABETH, beſides the general and eſſential intereſt of ſupporting the proteſtants, and oppoſing the rapid progreſs of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this propoſal. When ſhe concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, ſhe had good reaſon to foreſee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the reſtitution of Calais; and many ſubſequent incidents had tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. Conſiderable ſums of money had been expended on

[k] Father Paul, lib. vii. Haynes, p. 391. [l] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48.

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the fortifications; long leases had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English[m]. The queen therefore wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned[n]. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry[o], and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwic, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with

[m] Forbes, p. 54. 257. [n] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 199. [o] Ibid. p. 161.

 another

CHAP. XXXIX. another body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took on him the command of the place.

1562. It was expected that the French catholics, fluſhed with their ſucceſs at Rouen, would immediately have formed the ſiege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon diverted their attention to another enterpriſe. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris during ſome time, they took their march towards Normandy with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themſelves by the farther aſſiſtance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth[p]. The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides: And the action was diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, fell both of them priſoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guiſe; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept them in a body, and ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a new ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to

[p] Forbes, p. 320. Davila, lib. iii.

lend

lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount[q].

1563. Jan. 12. A parliament.

THE expences incurred by assisting the French hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer; and, in order to obtain supply, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: An expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom, they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: Or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was

q Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322. 347.

legally

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563. legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they obſerved, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief ſource of the uſual tranquillity, as well as of the happineſs of that kingdom [r].

THIS ſubject, though extremely intereſting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and ſhe was ſenſible that great difficulties would attend every deciſion. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a ſettlement perfectly legal; becauſe that princeſs was commonly allowed to poſſeſs the right of blood; and the excluſion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would loſe all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new ſettlement, and reſtored the Scottiſh line to its place in the ſucceſſion. But ſhe dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her ſecret enemies, by this declaration. She was ſenſible that every heir was, in ſome degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, theſe dangerous pretenſions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connections with the houſe of Guiſe, not to mention the force and ſituation of Scotland, was well known to her; and ſhe ſaw no ſecurity that this princeſs, if fortified by a ſure proſpect of ſucceſſion, would not revive claims which ſhe could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquiſh. On the other hand, the title of the houſe of Suffolk was ſupported by the more zealous proteſtants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would beſtow on it ſuch validity as to give ſatisfaction to the people. The

r Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journ. p. 81.

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1563.

republican part of the conſtitution had not yet acquired ſuch an aſcendant as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was ſtill diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could confer; who could be aſſured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever ſhewn itſelf diſpoſed rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance[6]; and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt, than to ſee the queen, openly and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partiſans of her preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremities againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniencies, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at beſt, would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer to the applications of the commons; and when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had

[6] Keith, p. 322.

fixed

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563. fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; and she added, that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security [t].

THE most remarkable law passed this session, was that which bore the title of *Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions* [u]. By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all school-masters, officers in court, or members of parliament: And the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; because it was not supposed that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons possessed of such high dignity. Lord Montacute made opposition to the bill; and asserted, in favour of the catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people [w]. It is however probable that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament increase their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable that they were mistaken in the remedy.

THERE was likewise another point, in which the parliament, this session, shewed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical

t Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal, p. 75. u 5 Eliz. c. 1.
w Strype, vol. i. p. 260.

pro-

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prophecies, which had been obferved to feduce the people into rebellion and diforder [x]: But at the fame time they enacted a ftatute, which was moft likely to increafe thefe and fuch like fuperftitions: It was levelled againft conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft [y]. Witchcraft and herefy are two crimes, which commonly increafe by punifhment, and never are fo effectually fuppreffed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a fupply of one fubfidy, and two fifteenths, the feffion was finifhed by a prorogation. The convocation likewife voted the queen a fubfidy of fix fhillings in the pound, payable in three years.

While the Englifh parties exerted thefe calm efforts againft each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, enflamed to the higheft degree of animofity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was fuccefsful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrifon of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation againft the common enemy. The queen, in taking poffeffion of that place, had publifhed a manifefto [z], in which fhe pretended, that her concern for the interefts of the French king had engaged her in that meafure, and that her fole intention was to oppofe her enemies of the houfe of Guife, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the deftruction of his beft and moft faithful fubjects. It was chiefly her defire to preferve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her foldiers in garrifon, and reftrain them from committing farther hoftilities

[x] 5 Eliz. c. 15. [y] Ibid. c. 16. [z] Forbes, vol. ii.

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upon the enemy [a]. The duke of Guise, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whose zeal, instigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral, and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprise. The death of this gallant prince was a sensible loss to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still supported the interests of the family, the danger of their progress appeared not so imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French protestants. The union, therefore, between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be less intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whose ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by subtlety and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plausible terms; and, in spite of the protestations of the admiral, whose sagacity could easily discover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties. A toleration, under some restrictions, was anew granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of ar-

[a] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 276, 277.

rears due to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom. CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated[b], that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre, her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwic orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwic, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence[c]; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprise; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious still to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, and dispositions, and situations of both sides, it was expected that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this im-

[b] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 79. [c] Ibid. p. 158.

portant

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portant place, than was at firſt apprehended. The plague creeped in among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions [d]), it made ſuch ravages, that ſometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained not at laſt fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty [e]. The French, meeting with ſuch feeble reſiſtance, carried on their attacks ſucceſsfully; and having made two breaches, each of them ſixty feet wide, they prepared for a general aſſault, which muſt have terminated in the ſlaughter of the whole garriſon [f]. Warwic, who had frequently warned the Engliſh council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, found himſelf obliged to capitulate, and to content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon. The articles were no ſooner ſigned, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and found the place ſurrendered to the enemy. To increaſe the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it ſwept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thouſand perſons there died of it in one year [g].

Havre loſt. 28th July.

ELIZABETH, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had not appeared in this tranſaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to prepare meaſures for the extermination of the hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England [h]. It was agreed that the hoſtages which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be reſtored for 220,000

2d April.

[d] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 377. 498. [e] Ibid. p. 450. 458.
[f] Ibid. p. 498. [g] See note [F] at the end of the volume.
[h] Davila, lib. iii.

crowns;

crowns; and that both ſides ſhould retain all their claims and pretenſions. CHAP. XXXIX.

1563. Scotch affairs.

The peace ſtill continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendſhip ſeemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. Theſe princeſſes made profeſſion of the moſt entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as ſtyle of ſiſters. Elizabeth puniſhed one Hales, who had publiſhed a book againſt Mary's title [i]; and as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her diſpleaſure, and it was with ſome difficulty he was able to give her ſatiſfaction, and recover her favour [k]. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing ſummer to an interview at York [l]; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to conſider of the proper method for ſettling the ſucceſſion of England: But as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate ſubject, ſhe employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, ſhe ſaid, would detain her in London; and ſhe delayed till next year the intended interview. It is alſo probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and addreſs and accompliſhments of Mary, ſhe did not chuſe to ſtand the compariſon with regard to thoſe exterior qualities, in which ſhe was eclipſed by her rival; and was unwilling, that a princeſs, who had already made great progreſs in the eſteem and affections of the Engliſh, ſhould have a farther opportunity of increaſing the number of her partiſans.

Mary's cloſe connections with the houſe of Guiſe, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe had been early educated and conſtantly protected, was the ground of juſt and unſurmount-

[i] Keith, p. 252. [k] Ibid. p. 253. [l] Haynes, p. 388.

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able jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to don Carlos, Philip's son; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might easily be freed by a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could strengthen their interests, or give inquietude and disturbance to Elizabeth [m]. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest and lay most exposed [n]. As she believed that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one most likely to have place, she used every expedient to prevent it; and besides remonstrating against it to Mary herself, she endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that pursuit, by giving him some hopes of success in his pretensions to herself, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage [o]. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and she offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her successor to the crown [p]. After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall.

[m] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 287. Strype, vol. i. p. 400. [n] Keith, p. 247. 284. [o] Melvil, p. 41. [p] Keith, p. 243. 249. 259. 265.

THE

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The earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, an insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accomplishments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honour, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities, by such abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high trust and confidence, with which she always honoured him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her bed; and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robesart. The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him lose the friendship of Mary from the temerity of his pretensions, and that of Elizabeth from jealousy of his attachments to another woman [q]. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous that the queen of Scots should never have any husband, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers, and

[q] Camden, p. 396.

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withdrew the bait which ſhe had thrown out to her rival[r]. This duplicity of conduct, joined to ſome appearance of an imperious ſuperiority, aſſumed by her, had drawn a peeviſh letter from Mary; and the ſeemingly amicable correſpondence between the two queens was, during ſome time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots diſpatched ſir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negotiation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of addreſs and converſation; and it was recommended to him by his miſtreſs, that, beſides grave reaſonings, concerning politics and ſtate-affairs, he ſhould introduce more entertaining topics of converſation, ſuitable to the ſprightly character of Elizabeth; and ſhould endeavour by that means to inſinuate himſelf into her confidence. He ſucceeded ſo well, that he threw that artful princeſs entirely off her guard[s]; and made her diſcover the bottom of her heart, full of all thoſe levities and follies and ideas of rivalſhip which poſſeſs the youngeſt and moſt frivolous of her ſex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dreſſes of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in ſetting off the beauties of the ſhape and perſon. The queen ſaid, that ſhe had dreſſes of all countries; and ſhe took care thenceforth to meet the ambaſſador every day apparelled in a different habit: Sometimes ſhe was dreſſed in the Engliſh garb, ſometimes in the French, ſometimes in the Italian; and ſhe aſked him, which of them became her moſt? He anſwered the Italian; a reply that, he knew, would be agreeable to her, becauſe that mode ſhowed to advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more

[r] Keith, p. 269, 270. Appendix, p. 158. Strype, vol. i. p. 414.
[s] Haynes, p. 447.

red

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red than yellow, ſhe fancied to be the fineſt in the world. She deſired to know of him what was reputed the beſt colour of hair: She aſked whether his queen or ſhe had the fineſt hair: She even enquired which of them he eſteemed the faireſt perſon: A very delicate queſtion, and which he prudently eluded, by ſaying, that her majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was talleſt: He replied, his queen: Then is ſhe too tall, ſaid Elizabeth: For I myſelf am of a juſt ſtature. Having learned from him, that his miſtreſs ſometimes recreated herſelf by playing on the harpſichord, an inſtrument on which ſhe herſelf excelled, ſhe gave orders to lord Hunſdon, that he ſhould lead the ambaſſador, as it were caſually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if raviſhed with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, ſhe pretended to be diſpleaſed with his intruſion; but ſtill took care to aſk him, whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument[t]? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, aſſure his miſtreſs, that ſhe had no reaſon ever to expect any cordial friendſhip from Elizabeth, and that all her profeſſions of amity were full of falſehood and diſſimulation.

After two years had been ſpent in evaſions and artifices[u], Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to think it full time that ſome marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox, was the perſon in whom moſt men's opinions and wiſhes centered. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of

[t] Melvil, p. 49, 50. [u] Keith, p. 264.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1564. Lenox had conſtantly reſided, ſince he had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton: And as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped, it was hoped that he might ſoon render himſelf agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was alſo by his father a branch of the ſame family with herſelf; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart: He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It ſeemed no inconſiderable advantage, that ſhe could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Engliſhman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the propoſal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princeſs.

Elizabeth was well informed of theſe intentions[w]; and was ſecretly not diſpleaſed with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots[x]. She would rather have wiſhed that Mary had continued for ever in a ſingle life: But finding little probability of rendering this ſcheme effectual, ſhe was ſatisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with Leiceſter, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, ſhe ſecretly deſired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverſe his attainder, and to reſtore him to his honours and fortune[y]. And when her requeſt was complied with, ſhe took care, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of the Hamiltons and her other partiſans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary[z]. Hearing

w Keith, p. 261. x Ibid. p. 280. 282. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 46. y Keith, p. 255. 259. 272. z Melvil, p. 42.

that

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that the negotiation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, ſhe gave that nobleman permiſſion, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland: But no ſooner did ſhe learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and perſon, and that all meaſures were fixed for eſpouſing him, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon into the Tower, where they ſuffered a rigorous confinement; ſeized all Lenox's Engliſh eſtate; and though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one ſingle reaſon for her diſpleaſure [a], ſhe menaced, and proteſted, and complained, as if ſhe had ſuffered the moſt grievous injury in the world. 28th July

THE politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were uſually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more ſo than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered ſo many little paſſions and narrow jealouſies, that ſhe durſt not avow to the world the reaſons of her conduct, ſcarcely to her miniſters, and ſcarcely even to herſelf. But beſides a womaniſh rivalſhip and envy againſt the marriage of this princeſs, ſhe had ſome motives of intereſt for feigning a diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion. It ſerved her as a pretence for refuſing to acknowledge Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England; a point to which, for good reaſons, ſhe was determined never to conſent. And it was uſeful to her for a purpoſe ſtill more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the diſcontents and rebellion of the Scottiſh nobility and eccleſiaſtics [b].

NOTHING can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a ſovereign attached to a religion different from the eſtabliſhed; and it is ſcarcely poſſible that mutual confidence can ever, in ſuch a

[a] Keith, p. 274, 275. [b] Ibid. p. 290.

 ſituation,

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565. ſituation, have place between the prince and his ſubjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every reſpect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had ſhe not made ſuch progreſs in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accompliſhments. Suſpicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and eſpecially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the ſcheme for exterminating the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout all Europe. She ſtill refuſed to ratify the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed the reformation; ſhe made attempts for reſtoring to the catholic biſhops ſome part of their civil juriſdiction[c]; and ſhe wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, beſides profeſſing her attachment to the catholic faith, ſhe took notice of her title to ſucceed to the crown of England, and expreſſed her hopes of being able, in ſome period, to bring back all her dominions to the boſom of the church[d]. The zealots among the proteſtants were not wanting, in their turn, to exerciſe their inſolence againſt her, which tended ſtill more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very firſt offence, to ſay maſs any where, except in the queen's chapel[e]; and it was with difficulty that even this ſmall indulgence was granted her: The general aſſembly importuned her anew to change her religion; to renounce the blaſphemous idolatry of the maſs, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichriſt; and to embrace the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus[f]. As ſhe anſwered with temper, that ſhe was not yet convinced of the falſity of her religion, or the impiety of the maſs; and that her apoſtacy would loſe her the friendſhip of her allies on the continent; they replied,

[c] Spotſwood, p. 198. [d] Father Paul, lib. vii. [e] Keith, p. 268. [f] Ibid. p. 545. Knox, p. 374.

by

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by aſſuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the ſame which had been revealed by Jeſus Chriſt, which had been preached by the apoſtles, and which had been embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papiſts, was built on ſo ſolid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various ſpecies of religioniſts ſpread over the face of the earth, were ſo happy as to be poſſeſſed of the truth; that thoſe who hear, or rather who gaze on the maſs, allow ſacrilege, pronounce blaſphemy, and commit moſt abominable idolatry; and that the friendſhip of the King of kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world [g].

The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afreſh the zeal of the reformers, becauſe the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the eſtabliſhed church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the eccleſiaſtics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to inſult him to his face; and Knox ſcrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for puniſhment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women [h]. The populace of Edinburgh, inſtigated by ſuch doctrines, began to meet and to aſſociate themſelves againſt the government [i]. But what threatened more immediae danger to Mary's authority, were the diſcontents which prevailed among ſome of the principal nobility.

THE duke of Chatelrault was diſpleaſed with the reſtoration, and ſtill more with the aggrandizement, of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears leſt his own eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland ſhould be excluded by his

[g] Keith, p. 550, 551. [h] Ibid. p. 546. Knox, p. 381.
[i] Knox, p. 377.

rival,

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565. rival, who had formerly advanced some pretensions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminished by the interest of Lenox and his son; and began to apprehend the revocation of some considerable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were instigated by like motives; and as these were the persons who had most zealously promoted the reformation, they were disgusted to find that the queen's favour was entirely ingrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were esteemed either lukewarm in religious controversy, or inclined to the catholic party. The same ground of discontent, which, in other courts, is the source of intrigue, faction, and opposition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of assassination, or of rebellion; and besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up[k], the malcontent lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for assistance and protection[l]. That princess, after publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors, Randolf and Throgmorton, to give in her name some promises of support to the malcontents; and had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them to begin an insurrection[m].

Mary was no sooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than she

[k] See note [G] at the end of the volume. [l] Keith, p. 293, 294. 300, 301. [m] Knox, p. 380. Keith, Append. p. 164. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 194.

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summoned them to appear in court, in order to answer for their conduct; and having levied some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisley in the neighbourhood with about a thousand horse; and passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory [n]. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: Her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: And the interested views of the malcontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace [o]. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: The rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and being pursued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thousand men [p], they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malcontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and she seduced them, by

[n] Knox, p. 381. [o] Ibid. p. 380. 385. [p] Ibid. p. 388.

secret

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565. ſecret aſſurances of protection, to declare, before the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe had nowiſe contributed to their inſurrection. No ſooner had ſhe extorted this confeſſion from them, than ſhe chaſed them from her preſence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their deteſtable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and aſſured them, that as ſhe had hitherto given them no encouragement, ſo ſhould they never thenceforth receive from her any aſſiſtance or protection[q]. Throgmorton alone, whoſe honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterpriſe of the Scottiſh rebels; and being well appriſed of the uſual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authoriſe the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them[r].

THE baniſhed lords, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and after ſome ſolicitation and ſome profeſſions of ſincere repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he ſhould retire into France. Mary was more implacable againſt the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom ſhe threw the chief blame of the enterpriſe; but as ſhe was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as ſome of her moſt judicious partiſans in England thought that nothing would more promote her intereſts in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men ſo celebrated for their zeal againſt the catholic religion; ſhe agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to ſeverity, and ſhe ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour[s]. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambaſſador from

[q] Melvil, p. 57. Knox, p. 388. Keith, p. 319. Crawford, p. 62, 63.
[r] Melvil, p. 60. [s] Ibid. p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Keith, p. 322.

France,

France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these protestant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion against her [t].

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THE two religions, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreseen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare their way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots [u]. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she purposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword till they were totally disabled from resistance.

[t] Keith. p. 325. Melvil, p. 63.

[u] Davila, lib. iii.

The

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565. Confederacy against the protestants.

The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association against the reformers; and having connected hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care, that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on

1566. the total ruin of the banished lords[w]. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; insolent, yet credulous and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness[x]. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: She had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have pro-

[w] Melvil, p. 63. Keith's Append. p. 176. [x] Keith, p. 287. 329. Append. p. 163.

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cured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: But having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him. His resentment against this prudent conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour.

Murder of Rizzio.

THERE was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmontese, of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, himself a musician; and finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, some time after her first arrival. He possessed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as that princess found him useful to complete her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master. Her secretary for French dispatches having, some time after, incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her favour. He was shrewd and sensible, as well as aspiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as the chief confident, and even minister of the queen. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery; and the man, insolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquisitions, soon drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the

whole

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whole kingdom[y]. He had at firſt employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: But on the ſubſequent change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to perſuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouſe in his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but was not paſt his youth[z]; and though the opinion of his criminal correſpondence with Mary might ſeem of itſelf unreaſonable, if not abſurd, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs with which ſhe honoured him. The rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory, to his and Mary's diſadvantage, received an eaſy credit among the zealots of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and retainers. A ſcheme was alſo thought to be formed for revoking ſome exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility who had ſeized the eccleſiaſtical benefices, began to think themſelves leſs ſecure in the poſſeſſion of them[a]. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all theſe conſiderations, and ſtill more by a rumour ſpread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his

y Keith, p. 282. 302. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 5. Spotſwood, p. 193. z See note [H] at the end of the volume.
a Keith, p. 326. Melvil, p. 64.

 place,

place, and to beſtow that dignity on a mean and upſtart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country [b]. So indiſcreet had this princeſs been in her kindneſs to Rizzio, that even that ſtrange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, inſinuating himſelf into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the diſcontent and jealouſy of that prince; and he perſuaded him that the only means of freeing himſelf from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the baſe ſtranger to the fate which he had ſo well merited, and which was ſo paſſionately deſired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lenox, concurred in the ſame advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey, being conſulted, offered their aſſiſtance in the enterpriſe; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averſe to the deſign [c]. But as theſe conſpirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to ſign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promiſed to protect them againſt every conſequence which might enſue upon the aſſaſſination of Rizzio [d]. All theſe meaſures being concerted, a meſſenger was diſpatched to the baniſhed lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

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THIS deſign, ſo atrocious in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private, and had at table the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, with Rizzio and others of her ſervants. The king entered the room by a private paſſage, and ſtood at the back

9th March.

[b] Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 60. Crawford, p. 6. Spotſwood, p. 194. Knox, p. 393. Jebb, vol. i. p. 456. [c] Crawford, p. 7. [d] Goodall, vol. i. p. 266. Crawford, p. 7.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1566. of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, being all armed, ruſhed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her, that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her by the waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient aſſaſſins, regardleſs of her efforts, ruſhed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which ſtood in their way, increaſed the horror and confuſion of the ſcene. Douglas, ſeizing Henry's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds[e]. The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid, She would weep no more, ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult, indeed, upon her perſon; the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo atrocious and ſo complicated, that they ſcarcely left room for pardon, even from the greateſt lenity and mercy.

The aſſaſſins, apprehenſive of Mary's reſentment, detained her priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all who ſeemed willing to attempt her reſcue, by telling them that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's ſafety. Murray and the baniſhed lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whoſe anger was now engroſſed by injuries more recent and violent, was wil-

[e] Melvil, p. 64. Keith, p. 330, 331. Crawford, p. 9.

lingly

fingly reconciled to them; and fhe even received her brother with tendernefs and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinftated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices alfo in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but fhe artfully delayed compliance, and perfuaded them, that fo long as fhe was detained in cuftody, and was furrounded by guards, any deed, which fhe fhould fign, would have no validity. Meanwhile, fhe had gained the confidence of her hufband, by her perfuafion and careffes; and no fooner were the guards withdrawn, than fhe engaged him to efcape with her in the night-time, and take fhelter in Dunbar. Many of her fubjects here offered her their fervices: and Mary having collected an army, which the confpirators had no power to refift, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diftrefs. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, defirous of ftrengthening his party by the acceffion of their intereft, was able to pacify her refentment; and he foon after procured them liberty to return into their own country [f].

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The vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable againft her hufband alone, whofe perfon was before difagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her higheft refentment. She engaged him to difown all connections with the affaffins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publifh a proclamation containing a falfehood fo notorious to the whole world [g]; and having thus made him expofe himfelf to univerfal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, fhe threw him off with difdain and

[f] Melvil, p. 75, 76. Keith, p. 334. Knox, p. 398.
[g] Goodall, vol. i. p. 280. Keith Append. p. 167.

 indignation.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1566. indignation [h]. As if ſhe had been making an eſcape from him, ſhe ſuddenly withdrew to Alloa, a ſeat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, ſhe ſuddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the ſtrongeſt proofs of diſpleaſure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and ſhe was pleaſed that his mean equipage and ſmall train of attendants ſhould draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the caſtle of Edinburgh, which Mary had choſen for the place of her delivery. 19th June. She there brought forth a ſon; and as this was very important news to England as well as to Scotland, ſhe immediately diſpatched ſir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and alacrity, which uſually attended her on theſe occaſions: But when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: She ſunk into melancholy; ſhe reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haſte he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip to her ſiſter [i]. Some time after, ſhe diſpatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinſman George Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon, in order to officiate at the baptiſm of the young prince; and ſhe ſent by them ſome magnificent preſents to the queen of Scots.

[h] Melvil, p. 66, 67.

[i] Ibid. p. 69, 70.

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The birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partiſans in England[k]; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament held after ſix prorogations. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the houſe of commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe, and propoſed that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion and that of ſupply ſhould go hand in hand; as if it were intended to conſtrain the queen to a compliance with the requeſt of her parliament[l]. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the houſe, that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and ſir Francis Knollys gave their teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe; as did alſo ſir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſehold[m]. Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character was ſo well known that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive declaration, which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. The miniſters, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the houſe, for the ſake of decency, to join the queſtion of the queen's marriage with that of a ſettlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when expreſs orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter.

30th Sept. A parliament.

k Camden, p. 397. l D'Ewes, p. 129. m Ibid. p. 124.

 Cecil

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Cecil told them, that ſhe pledged to the houſe the word of a queen for her ſincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a ſucceſſor would be attended with great danger to her perſon; that ſhe herſelf had had experience, during the reign of her ſiſter, how much court was uſually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous ſacrifices men were commonly diſpoſed to make of their preſent duty to their future proſpects; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the deciſion of that important queſtion [n]. The houſe was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſtill leſs with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the ſubject. Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, went ſo far as to queſtion whether ſuch a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the houſe [o]. Some even ventured to violate that profound reſpect which had hitherto been preſerved to the queen; and they affirmed that ſhe was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happineſs of her ſubjects during her own life, but alſo to pay regard to their future ſecurity, by fixing a ſucceſſor; that, by an oppoſite conduct, ſhe ſhowed herſelf the ſtepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would ſeem deſirous, that England ſhould no longer ſubſiſt than ſhe ſhould enjoy the glory and ſatisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever ſtood in fear of their ſucceſſors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every ſovereign, who, laying aſide all artifice or bye ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole truſt in that honourable and ſure defence [p]. The queen, hearing of theſe debates, ſent for the ſpeaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, ſhe bade him inform the houſe, that if any

[n] D'Ewes, p. 127, 128.

[o] Ibid. p. 128.

[p] Camden, p. 400.

member

member remained ſtill unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons[q]. As the members ſhowed a diſpoſition, notwithſtanding theſe peremptory orders, ſtill to proceed upon the queſtion, Elizabeth thought proper, by a meſſage, to revoke them, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate[r]. They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper; and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen ſoon after diſſolved the parliament, and told them with ſome ſharpneſs in the concluſion, that their proceedings had contained much diſſimulation and artifice; that, under the plauſible pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, ſhe reaped this advantage from the attempts of theſe men, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies. "But do "you think," added ſhe, "that I am unmindful "of your future ſecurity, or will be negligent in "ſettling the ſucceſſion? That is the chief object of "my concern; as I know myſelf to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No: it was never my "meaning; I only intended to ſtop you before you "approached the precipice. All things have their "time; and though you may be bleſſed with a ſovereign more wiſe or more learned than I, yet I "aſſure you, that no one will ever rule over you, who "ſhall be more careful of your ſafety. And therefore, "henceforward, whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking "your ſovereign's patience, ſo far as you have done

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[q] D'Ewes, p. 128.
[r] Ibid. p. 130.

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" mine. But I ſhall now conclude, that, notwithſtanding the diſguſts I have received (for I mean " not to part with you in anger), the greater part of " you may aſſure themſelves that they go home in " their prince's good graces [s]."

Elizabeth carried farther her dignity on this occaſion. She had received the ſubſidy without any condition; but as it was believed that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requeſts, ſhe thought proper, on her refuſal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and ſhe ſaid, that money in her ſubject's purſes was as good to her as in her own exchequer [t].

But though the queen was able to elude, for the preſent, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and beſides the catholics, many of whom kept a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to riſe at her command [u], the court itſelf of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partiſans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor. None but the more zealous proteſtants adhered either to the counteſs of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor counteſs of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former ſeemed liable to ſome objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that ſide, with the proſpect of new diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion. Mary's behaviour alſo, ſo moderate towards the proteſtants, and ſo gracious towards all men, had procured her univerſal reſpect [w]; and the public was willing to aſcribe any imprudences, into which ſhe had fallen, to her youth

s D'Ewes, p. 116, 117.
u Haynes, p. 446 448.
t Camden, p. 400.
w Melvil, p. 53. 61. 74.

and

and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin. CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

Murder of Darnley.

THE earl of Bothwel was of a considerable family and power in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himself to beggary by his profuse expences [x]; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate councils and enterprises. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband [y]. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose [z]. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for a divorce; and though Mary

[x] Keith, p. 240. [y] Melvil, p. 66. 77.
[z] Keith, p. 345—348.

is

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is said to have spoken honourably on the occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no farther than it should be found consistent with her own honour and her son's legitimacy [a], men were inclined to believe that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpose, was the real cause of laying aside all farther thoughts of it. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that when Henry, discouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized immediately on his arrival in that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which, it was pretended, she had administered to him.

WHILE affairs were in this situation, all those who wished well to her character, or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to hear, that a friendship was again conciliated between them, that she had taken a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit him during his sickness, that she behaved towards him with great tenderness, that she had brought him along with her, and that she appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not distrusting this sudden reconciliation, put himself implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-house; but as the situation of the place was low, and the concourse of people about the court was necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, these reasons were assigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house, at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him; and

[a] Camden, p. 404. Goodall's Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 317.

she

ſhe lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it[b].

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime[c]. But as his favour with Mary was viſible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments; and all men remained in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the darkneſs of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be murderers of the king; bills were ſecretly affixed on the walls to the ſame purpoſe; offers were made, that, upon giving proper ſecurities, his guilt ſhould be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would diſcover the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in ſearching out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's aſſaſſination, or detecting the regicides[d].

[b] It was imagined that Henry had been ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. But this ſuppoſition is contradicted by the confeſſion of the criminals; and there is no neceſſity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many inſtances that men's lives have been ſaved who had been blown up in ſhips. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed.

[c] Melvil, p. 78. Cabala, p. 136.

[d] Anderſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 38. vol. iv. p. 167, 168. Spotſwood, p. 200. Keith, p. 374.

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The earl of Lenox, who lived at a diſtance from court, in poverty and contempt, was rouſed by the report of his ſon's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, ſir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's houſehold; all of them perſons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh[e]. Mary took his demand of ſpeedy juſtice in a very literal ſenſe; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, ſhe ſent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge againſt Bothwel[f]. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other perſons accuſed by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty[g]; Bothwel himſelf was continually ſurrounded with armed men[h]; took his place in council[i]; lived during ſome time in the houſe with Mary[k]; and ſeemed to poſſeſs all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the caſtle of Edinburgh, a place of great conſequence in this critical time, was entruſted to him, and under him, to his creature, ſir James Balfour, who had himſelf been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder[l]. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all theſe circumſtances; and reflecting on the ſmall train which attended him, he began to entertain very juſt apprehenſions from the power, inſolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, deſiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which ſhe bore to her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch extreme

e Keith, p. 372. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 3. f Keith, p. 373. g Ibid. p. 374, 375. h Ibid. p. 405. i Anderſon, vol. i. p. 38. 40. 50. 52. k Ibid. vol. ii. p. 274. l Spotſwood, p. 201.

moment.

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moment[m]. No regard was paid to his application: The jury was enclosed, of which the earl of Caithness was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreseeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and protest, in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict[n]. The verdict was such as it behoved them to give, where neither accuser nor witness appeared; and Bothwel was absolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehensive that their verdict would give great scandal, and perhaps expose them afterwards to some danger, entered a protest, in which they represented the necessity of their proceedings[o]. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid against Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was assassinated[p]. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too gross, it was thought, to have proceeded from mistake, was, that the secret council, by whom Mary was governed, not trusting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they ensured, at all adventures, a plausible pretence for acquitting Bothwel. 12th April.

Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of the national assembly[q]. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made against those

[m] Keith, p. 375. Anderson, vol. i. p. 52. [n] Keith, p. 376. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 106. Spotswood, p. 201. [o] Spotswood, p. 201. Anderson, vol. i. p. 113. [p] Keith. p. 375. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 93. Spotswood, p. 201. [q] Keith, p. 78. Crawford, p. 14.

who

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. who set up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder[r]. The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. A bond or association was framed; in which the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige themselves, in case any person should afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned th necessity of their queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and they recommended Bothwel to her as
14th April. a husband[s]. This paper was sub[illegible]ed by all the considerable nobility there present. In a country divided by violent factions, such a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, nowise distinguished above the rest, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at least firmly persuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this measure[t]. Nor would such a motive have sufficed to influence men, [illegible]mmonly so stubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by surprise, been ignorant of each other's sentiments, and overawed by the present power of the court, and by the apprehensions of farther violence, from persons so little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. Even with all these circumstances, the subscription to this paper may justly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

r Keith, p. 380. s Ibid. p. 381.
t See note [I] at the end of the volume.

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THE subsequent measures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, he assembled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and having waylaid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not, that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint: He was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her[u]. A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to *real* violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that if, in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel[w]. No one gave himself thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance. 24th April.

THIS unusual conduct was at first ascribed to Mary's sense of the infamy attending her purposed marriage, and her desire of finding some colour to gloss over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures somewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person; and for *all other crimes*: A clause, by which the murder

[u] Melvil, p. 80. [w] Spotswood, p. 202.

of

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared ſcandalous to make openly any mention [x].

THESE events paſſed with ſuch rapidity, that men had no leiſure to admire ſufficiently one incident, when they were ſurpriſed with a new one equally rare and uncommon. There ſtill, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not eaſy to foreſee how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their ſhameful purpoſe, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the ſubſcription of the nobility, recommending him as a huſband to the queen, and who had acted this ſeeming violence on her perſon, in order to force her conſent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, ſiſter to the earl of Huntley. But perſons blinded by paſſion, and infatuated with crimes, ſoon ſhake off all appearance of decency. A ſuit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this ſuit was opened at the ſame inſtant in two different, or rather oppoſite, courts; in the court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, which was popiſh, and governed itſelf by the canon law; and in the new conſiſtorial or commiſſariot court, which was proteſtant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was ſo calculated as to ſuit the principles which there prevailed: In the archbiſhop's court, the pretence of conſanguinity was employed, becauſe Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commiſſariot court, the accuſation of adultery was made uſe of againſt him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel

[x] Anderſon, vol. iv. part ii. p. 61.

was

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was the person who sued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the suit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmost precipitation; and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days [y].

THE divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper that Mary should be conducted to Edinburgh, and should there appear before the courts of judicature, and should acknowledge herself restored to entire freedom. This was understood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publish in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpose. This clergyman, not content with having refused compliance, publicly in his sermons condemned the marriage, and exhorted all who had access to the queen, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to answer for this liberty, he showed a courage which might cover all the nobles with shame, on account of their tameness and servility. He said, that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by collusion, as appeared by the precipitation of the sentence, and the sudden conclusion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the suspicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was present, no longer to persevere in his present criminal enterprises; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their

[y] Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

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influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a meaſure which would load her with eternal infamy and diſhonour. Not ſatisfied even with this admonition, he took the firſt opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole tranſaction, and expreſſed to them his fears, that, notwithſtanding all remonſtrances, their ſovereign was ſtill obſtinately bent on her fatal purpoſe. "For "himſelf," he ſaid, "he had already diſcharged his "conſcience, and yet again would take heaven and "earth to witneſs, that he abhorred and deteſted "that marriage, as ſcandalous and hateful in the "ſight of mankind: But ſince the Great, as he "perceived, either by their flattery or ſilence, gave "countenance to the meaſure, he beſought the "Faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, that "a reſolution, taken contrary to all law, reaſon, "and good conſcience, might, by the divine bleſſ-"ing, be turned to the comfort and benefit of the "church and kingdom." Theſe ſpeeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was anew ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for his temerity in thus paſſing the bounds of his commiſſion. But he told them, that the bounds of his commiſſion were the word of God, good laws, and natural reaſon; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of theſe ſtandards, it would appear infamous and diſhonourable, and would be ſo eſteemed by the whole world. The council were ſo overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they diſmiſſed him without farther cenſure or puniſhment [z].

But though this tranſaction might have recalled Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have inſtructed them in the diſpoſitions of the people, as well as in their own inability to oppoſe them; they were ſtill reſolute to ruſh forward to their own manifeſt deſtruction.

[z] Spotſwood, p. 203. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 280.

The

1567. 15th May. Queen of Scots marries Bothwel.

The marriage was ſolemnized by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: They had moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence [a]. Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage [b]: The court of France made like oppoſition; but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

THE news of theſe tranſactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and even by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices [c]. The Scots, who reſided abroad, met with ſuch reproaches, that they durſt nowhere appear in public; and they earneſtly exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from the public odium, by bringing to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leiſure for reflection, rouſed men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the very beginning [d], had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had concurred in the king's murder, ſeemed now, by the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was every where ſaid, that even though

[a] Spotſwood, p. 203. Melvil, p. 82. [b] Keith, p. 392. Digges, p. 14. [c] Melvil, p. 82. Keith, p. 402. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 128. 134. [d] Crawford, p. 11. Keith, Pref. p. 9.

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no particular and direct proofs had as yet been pronounced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenour of her late conduct was sufficient, not only to beget suspicion, but to produce entire conviction against her: That her sudden resolution of being reconciled to her husband, whom before she had long and justly hated; her bringing him to court, from which she had banished him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up separate apartments for him; were all of them circumstances which, though trivial in themselves, yet, being compared with the subsequent events, bore a very unfavourable aspect for her: That the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a more than usual caution in her measures, and an extreme anxiety to punish the real assassins, in order to free herself from all reproach and suspicion: That no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accused of her husband's murder, so much as to approach her presence, far less give him a share in her councils, and endow him with favour and authoriry: That an acquittal, merely in the absence of accusers, was very ill fitted to satisfy the public; especially if that absence proceeded from a designed precipitation of the sentence, and from the terror which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every one: That the very mention of her marriage to such a person, in such circumstances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were gross artifices, more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence: That where a woman thus shews a consciousness of merited reproach, and, instead of correcting, provides only thin glosses to cover her exceptionable conduct, she betrays a neglect of fame, which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameful enormities: That to espouse a man, who had, a few days before, been so scandalously divorced from his

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his wife; who, to ſay the leaſt, was believed to have, a few months before, aſſaſſinated her huſband; was ſo contrary to the plaineſt rules of behaviour, that no pretence of indiſcretion or imprudence could account for ſuch a conduct: That a woman, who, ſo ſoon after her huſband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumſtances, contracts a marriage, which might in itſelf be the moſt blameleſs, cannot eſcape ſevere cenſure; but one who overlooks, for her pleaſure, ſo many other weighty conſiderations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: That Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public, with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if ſhe ſtill continued to purſue meaſures which gave ſuch juſt offence, ſhe ratified, by her actions, as much as ſhe could by the moſt formal confeſſion, all the ſurmiſes and imputations of her enemies: That a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was ſuſpected and accuſed; if he were innocent, nothing could abſolve him, either in Mary's eyes or thoſe of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real aſſaſſin; yet no inquiry was made to that purpoſe, though a parliament had been aſſembled; the ſovereign and wife was here plainly ſilent from guilt, the people from terror: That the only circumſtance which oppoſed all theſe preſumptions, or rather proofs, was the benignity and goodneſs of her preceding behaviour, which ſeemed to remove her from all ſuſpicions of ſuch atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and perſons guilty of the worſt actions were not always of the worſt and moſt criminal diſpoſitions: That a woman, who in a critical and dangerous moment, had ſacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principle, might thenceforth be

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. led blindfold by him to the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own diſpoſal: And that, though one ſuppoſition was ſtill left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, preſuming on her affection towards him, had of himſelf committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet ſuch a ſudden and paſſionate love to a man, whom ſhe had long known, could not eaſily be accounted for, without ſuppoſing ſome degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared that ſhe was not afterwards reſtrained, either by ſhame or prudence, from incurring the higheſt reproach and danger, it was not likely that a ſenſe of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

THESE were the ſentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and as the proteſtant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an animoſity to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwel, and, as is pretended, with her conſent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of thoſe who had formerly been conſtrained to ſign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers[e]. The earl of Athole himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: The earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencarne, the lords Boyd, Lindeſey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and ſecretary Lidington, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free of theſe dangerous factions, had,

[e] Keith, p. 394.

ſome

some time before, desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France. CHAP. XXXIX.

LORD Hume was first in arms; and, leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel in the castle of Borthwic. They found means of making their escape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were assembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking measures to effect their purpose. Had Bothwel been so prudent as to keep within the fortress of Dunbar, his enemies must have dispersed for want of pay and subsistence; but hearing that the associated lords were fallen into distress, he was so rash as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel[f]. After some bravadoes of Bothwel, where he discovered very little courage, she saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son[g]. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourse to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the

1567. Insurrections in Scotland.

15th June.

[f] Keith, p. 402. Spotswood, p. 207. [g] Melvil, p. 83, 84.

 crime.

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crime[h]. Bothwel himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years after: An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Impriſonment of Mary.

The queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with ſuch treatment as a ſovereign may naturally expect from ſubjects who have their future ſecurity to provide for, as well as their preſent animoſity to gratify. It is pretended, that ſhe behaved with a ſpirit very little ſuitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel[i], and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, wherein ſhe declared, that ſhe would endure any extremity, nay reſign her dignity and crown itſelf, rather than relinquiſh his affections[k]. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were expoſed, in caſe Mary ſhould finally prevail, thought themſelves obliged to proceed with rigour againſt her; and they ſent her next day under a guard to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name. The miſtreſs of the houſe was mother to the earl of Murray; and as ſhe pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, ſhe naturally bore an animoſity to Mary, and treated her with the utmoſt harſhneſs and ſeverity.

Elizabeth, who was fully informed of all theſe incidents, ſeemed touched with compaſſion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealouſies being now laid aſleep, by the conſideration of that ruin and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, ſhe began to reflect on the inſtability of human affairs, the precarious ſtate of royal grandeur,

h Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 165, 166. &c. i Keith, p. 419.
k Melvil, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears ſomewhat diſputable; chiefly becauſe Murray and his aſſociates never mentioned it in their accuſation of her before queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners.

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the danger of encouraging rebellious ſubjects; and ſhe reſolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinſwoman. She ſent ſir Nicholas Throgmorton ambaſſador to Scotland, in order to remonſtrate both with Mary and the aſſociated lords; and ſhe gave him inſtructions, which, though mixed with ſome lofty pretenſions, were full of that good ſenſe which was ſo natural to her, and of that generoſity which the preſent intereſting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princeſs, ſo enormous and in every reſpect ſo unjuſtifiable, had given her the higheſt offence; and though ſhe felt the movements of pity towards her, ſhe had once determined never to interpoſe in her affairs, either by advice or aſſiſtance, but to abandon her entirely, as a perſon whoſe condition was totally deſperate, and honour irretrievable: That ſhe was well aſſured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the ſame reſolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender ſympathy, and had made her adopt meaſures more favourable to the liberty and intereſts of the unhappy queen: That ſhe was determined not to ſee her oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in ſuch a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the ſafety of her ſubjects: That ſhe conjured her to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, except againſt the murderers of her huſband; and as ſhe herſelf was his near relation, ſhe was better entitled than the ſubjects of Mary, to interpoſe her authority on that head; and ſhe therefore beſought that princeſs, if ſhe had any regard to her own honour and ſafety, not to oppoſe ſo juſt and reaſonable a demand: That after thoſe two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the

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the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose, than sending him to be educated in England: And that, besides the security which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial consequences, which it was easy to foresee as the result of his education in that country[l].

THE remonstrances which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords, were entirely conformable to these sentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: That it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations: That if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: That she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well-governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: That she required them to restore their queen to liberty; and promised, in that case, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for punishing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: And that if the services,

[l] Keith, p. 411, 412, &c.

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which ſhe had lately rendered the Scottiſh nation, in protecting them from foreign uſurpation, were duly conſidered by them, they would repoſe confidence in her good offices, and would eſteem themſelves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her[m].

ELIZABETH, beſides theſe remonſtrances, ſent, by Throgmorton, ſome articles of accommodation, which he was to propoſe to both parties, as expedients for the ſettlement of public affairs; and though theſe articles contained ſome important reſtraints on the ſovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were ſufficiently indulgent to her[n]. The aſſociated lords, who determined to proceed with greater ſeverity, were apprehenſive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being ſenſible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princeſs[o], they thought proper, after ſeveral affected delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to her. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: One, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: The ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: The third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: The fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her[p]. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the

[m] Keith, p. 414, 415, 429. [n] Ibid. p. 416.
[o] Ibid. p. 427. [p] Ibid. p. 420.

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performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal[q], and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting secretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign[r].

THERE were several pretenders to the regency of the young prince after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: The duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown: But the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had entire trust, and who possessed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindesey, and sir Robert Melvil; by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to make a council which should administer the government until his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying justly under apprehensions for her life, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them[s]. In consequence of this

[q] Keith, p. 428. [r] Ibid. p. 422. 426.

[s] Melvil, p. 85. Spotswood, p. 211. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 19.

forced

forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony[t]; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, *Pro me; si merear, in me:* For me; if I deserve it, against me[u]. Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots[w]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. 29th July.

The council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her breast any remains of affection towards him[x]. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowlenged her son for king and Murray for regent[y]. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: He constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates: And he demolished that fortress. 15th Dec.

But though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed

t Keith, p. 439, 440. u Ibid. p. 440. Append. p. 150. w Ibid. p. 430. x Melvil, p. 87. Keith, p. 445. y Anderson, vol. ii. p. 206. & seq.

to

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its most settled state, possessed a very disjointed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwel was present; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: And besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either detested Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation, and lamented that a person, possessed of so many amiable accomplishments, joined to such high dignity, should be treated with such extreme severity[z]. Animated by all these motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess.

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[z] Buchanan, lib. xviii. c. 53.

gentleman,

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gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist her in that enterprise. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwel should be dissolved on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry[a]. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard. 2d May.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued. If she had not employed force against the regent, during the imprisonment of that princess, she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her[b]; but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient, which, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: She desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign[c]. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces,

[a] Keith, p. 475. [b] Ibid. p. 463. Cabala, p. 141.
[c] Keith, p. 462.

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to Mary; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland[d].

15th May.

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour; and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel which could safely convey her thither: The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter[e]; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overlooked all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring

Mary flies into England.

[d] Keith, p. 473. in the notes. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 26.
[e] Jebb's Collection, vol. i. p. 420.

 leave

leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

ELIZABETH now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy[f], she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh anew all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connexion with Elizabeth: That though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: That Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was in secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with their views, when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: That her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against

[f] Cabala, p. 140.

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the religion and government of England: That it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: That above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying into France, and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority: That her desperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her resentment, when she should find herself thus deserted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful enemy to the English government: That if she were once abroad, in the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method, she must imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she would deem herself equally intitled: That a neutrality in such interesting situations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requisite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or against her: That nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be consulted in such delicate circumstances as those in which the queen was at present placed; where her own safety and the interests of her people were intimately concerned in every resolution which she embraced: That though the example of successful rebellion, especially in a neighbouring

bouring country, could nowise be agreeable to any sovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of subjects, after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against other princes: That it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: That as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it: And that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprise, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.

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AGREEABLY to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and, after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: Till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour,

 honour,

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honour, ſhow her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the aſſaſſination of ſo near a kinſman[g]. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the neceſſity of her ſituation extorted from her a declaration, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of ſo good a friend[h]. Two days after ſhe ſent lord Herreis to London with a letter to the ſame purpoſe.

This conceſſion, which Mary could ſcarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and deſired by Elizabeth: She immediately diſpatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of his queen's party, and ſend ſome perſons to London to juſtify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might juſtly be ſtartled at receiving a meſſage ſo violent and imperious; but as his domeſtic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the ſole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was reſolved rather to digeſt the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refuſal. He alſo conſidered, that though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to ſupport the king's cauſe in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but ſo penetrating a princeſs would in the end diſcover this intereſt, and would at leaſt afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himſelf take a journey to England, attended by other commiſſioners; and would willingly ſubmit the determination of his cauſe to Elizabeth[i].

Lord Herreis now perceived, that his miſtreſs had advanced too far in her conceſſions: He endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, with-

g Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 54. 66. 82, 83. 86.
h Ibid. p. 10. 55. 87.
i Ibid. p. 13—16.

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out diminution of her royal dignity, ſubmit to a conteſt with her rebellious ſubjects before a foreign prince; and he required either preſent aid from England, or liberty for his queen to paſs over into France. Being preſſed, however, with the former agreement before the Engliſh council, he again renewed his conſent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with ſome difficulty that he was brought to acquieſce in the firſt determination[k]. Theſe fluctuations, which were inceſſantly renewed, ſhowed his viſible reluctance to the meaſures purſued by the court of England.

The queen of Scots diſcovered no leſs averſion to the trial propoſed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her perſevere in the agreement to which ſhe at firſt conſented. This latter princeſs ſtill ſaid to her, that ſhe deſired not, without Mary's conſent or approbation, to enter into the queſtion, and pretended only, as a friend, to hear her juſtification: That ſhe was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to ſupport her cauſe, and procure her ſome reaſonable terms of accommodation: And that it was never meant, that ſhe ſhould be cited to a trial on the accuſation of her rebellious ſubjects; but, on the contrary, that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear, and to juſtify themſelves for their conduct towards her[l]. Allured by theſe plauſible profeſſions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herſelf by her own commiſſioners before commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth.

During theſe tranſactions lord Scrope and ſir Francis Knolles, who reſided with Mary at Carliſle, had leiſure to ſtudy her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes,

k Anderſon, p. 16—20. l Ibid. p. 11, 12, 13. 109, 110.

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resolute in her purpose, active in her enterprises, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent, insinuating, affable; she had already convinced all those who approached her, of the innocence of her past conduct; and as she declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance against her persecutors, it was easy to foresee the danger to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them[m]. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, were determined to watch her with greater vigilance. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire: And the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

4th Octob. Conferences at York and Hampton-court.

THE commissioners appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesley bishop of Ross, the lords Herreis, Levingstone, and Boyde, with three persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous

[m] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54. 71, 72. 74. 78. 92.

poet

poet and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their aſſiſtants.

It was a great circumſtance in Elizabeth's glory, that ſhe was thus choſen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had, during many centuries, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy and animoſity againſt England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of ſo dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greateſt inquietude, now entirely at her diſpoſal. Some circumſtances of her late conduct had diſcovered a bias towards the ſide of Mary: Her prevailing intereſts led her to favour the enemies of that princeſs: The profeſſions of impartiality, which ſhe had made, were open and frequent; and ſhe had ſo far ſucceeded, that each ſide accuſed her commiſſioners of partiality towards their adverſaries[n]. She herſelf appears, by the inſtructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the deciſion; but ſhe knew that the advantages which ſhe ſhould reap, muſt be great, whatever iſſue the cauſe might take. If Mary's crimes could be aſcertained by undoubted proof, ſhe could for ever blaſt the reputation of that princeſs, and might juſtifiably detain her for ever a priſoner in England: If the evidence fell ſhort of conviction, it was intended to reſtore her to the throne, but with ſuch ſtrict limitations as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom[o].

Mary's commiſſioners, before they gave in their complaints againſt her enemies in Scotland, entered a proteſt, that their appearance in the cauſe ſhould nowiſe affect the independence of her crown, or be conſtrued as a mark of ſubordination to England: The Engliſh commiſſioners received this proteſt,

[n] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 40. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 110.

[o] Ibid. 14, 15, &c.

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but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwel: That her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put herself into their hands, they had committed her to close custody in Lochlevin; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her after her deliverance from prison; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England[p]. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary and imperfect account of the late transactions: That the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her, as to gain her consent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and expose his criminal enterprises; that after Mary, in order to save him, had thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered such a violent attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for their own and the public safety, to confine her person, during a season, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes; and that, during this confinement she had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence, merely from disgust at

[p] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 52. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 128. Haynes, p. 478.

the inquietude and vexations attending power, resigned her crown to her only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority [q]. The queen's answer to this apology was obvious: That she did not know, and never could suspect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she ever was, and still continues, desirous that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any validity [r].

So far the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest: And the English commissioners might have been surprised that Murray had made so weak a defence, and had suppressed all the material imputations against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private conferences previously informed them of the secret. Mary's commissioners had boasted that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinswoman, and from her desire of maintaining the rights of sovereigns, was determined, how criminal soever the conduct of that princess might appear, to restore her to the throne [s]; and Murray, reflecting on some past measures of the English court, began to apprehend that there were but too just grounds for these expectations. He believed that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the most violent part of

[q] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2 p. 64. & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 144.
[r] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p 60. & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162.
[s] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 45. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 127.

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the accusation against her, would submit to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded so far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no composition could afterwards take place; and should she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance [t]. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure which it would be impossible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear entirely satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with these scruples of the regent [u]. He had ever been a partisan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lidington, who began also to incline to that party, and was a man of singular address and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of espousing her: And though that duke confessed [w], that the proofs against Mary seemed to be unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his present resolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners [x].

Norfolk, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent. These queries consisted of four particulars: Whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the

[t] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 47, 48. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159.
[u] Crawford, p. 92. Melvil, p. 94, 95. Haynes, p. 574.
[w] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 77. [x] Ibid. p. 57. 77. State Trials, vol. i. p. 76.

queen

queen of Scots, if ſhe were found guilty, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at leaſt, be ſo ſecured in England, that ſhe never ſhould be able to diſturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would alſo, in that caſe, promiſe to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority[y].

ELIZABETH, when theſe queries, with the other tranſactions, were laid before her, began to think that they pointed towards a concluſion more deciſive and more advantageous than ſhe had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that the diſtance from her perſon retarded the proceedings of her commiſſioners, ſhe ordered them to come to London. and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, ſhe immediately joined in commiſſion with them ſome of the moſt conſiderable of her council; ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, lord Clinton, admiral, and ſir William Cecil, ſecretary[z]. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of theſe ſecret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would ſtill reſtrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accuſation againſt her, expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inſpection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where ſhe moſt deſired to reſt it[a]. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-court; and Mary's commiſſioners, as before, made no ſcruple to be preſent at them.

THE queen, meanwhile, gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though ſhe wiſhed and hoped, from the preſent inquiry, to

[y] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 55. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 130.
[z] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 99. [a] Ibid. p. 95. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 177. 179.

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be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event ſhould prove contrary, and that princeſs ſhould appear guilty of her huſband's murder, ſhe ſhould, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne[b]. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and, after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king[c]. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity[d].

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were tranſmitted to the biſhop of Roſs, lord Herreis, and the other commiſſioners of Mary, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and they grounded their ſilence on very extraordinary reaſons: They had orders, they ſaid, from their miſtreſs, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not be ſubject to any tribunal; and they required that ſhe ſhould previouſly be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence[e]. They forgot that the conferences were at firſt begun, and were ſtill continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accuſations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own conſent and approbation, not as aſſuming

[b] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 199. [c] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 115. & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 206. [d] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 123. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 208. [e] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 125. & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184. 211. 217.

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any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had, from the beginning, refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, she had previously conferred the same honour on Mary's commissioners[f]; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties[g].

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As the commissioners of the queen of Scots refused to give in any answer to Murray's charge, the necessary consequence seemed to be, that there could be no further proceedings in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: But though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification[h]. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own hand,

[f] Lesley's Negociations in Anderson, vol. iii. p. 25. Haynes, p. 487.
[g] See note [K] at the end of the volume. [h] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 147. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 233.

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and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another ſubſcribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

All theſe important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a ſilver box or caſket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her firſt huſband, Francis; and though the princeſs had enjoined him to burn the letters as ſoon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preſerve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the cuſtody of ſir James Balfour, deputy governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh. When that fortreſs was beſieged by the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but as he had at that time received ſome diſguſt from Bothwel, and was ſecretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwel, of her conſent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her[i]. Murray fortified this evidence by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts[k]; and he added, ſome time after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being acceſſary to that criminal enterpriſe[l].

[i] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 115. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 1.
[k] Anderſon, vol. ii. part 2. p. 165, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 243.
[l] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 192. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 76.

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Mary's commiffioners had ufed every expedient to ward this blow which they faw coming upon them, and againft which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As foon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conference from an inquiry into a negotiation; and though informed by the Englifh commiffioners that nothing could be more difhonourable for their miftrefs, than to enter into a treaty with fuch undutiful fubjects, before fhe had juftified herfelf from thofe enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they ftill infifted that Elizabeth fhould fettle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland[m]. They maintained that, till their miftrefs had given in her anfwer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced[n]: And finding that the Englifh commiffioners were ftill determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Thefe papers, at leaft tranflations of them, have fince been publifhed. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of fmall force: But were they ever fo fpecious, they cannot now be hearkened to; fince Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence againft her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refufing to give an anfwer to the accufation of her enemies[o].

But Elizabeth, though fhe had feen enough for her own fatisfaction, was determined that the moft eminent perfons of her court fhould alfo be acquainted with thefe tranfactions, and fhould be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be affembled; and, that

[m] Anderfon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 135. 139. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 224.
[n] Anderfon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 139. 145. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 228.
[o] See note [L] at the end of the volume.

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ſhe might render the matter more ſolemn and authentic, ſhe ſummoned, along with them, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwic. All the proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were read to them: The evidences produced by Murray were peruſed: A great number of letters written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: The refuſal of the queen of Scots' commiſſioners to make any reply, was related: And on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as ſhe had from the firſt thought it improper that Mary, after ſuch horrid crimes were imputed to her, ſhould be admitted to her preſence before ſhe had, in ſome meaſure, juſtified herſelf from the charge; ſo now, when her guilt was confirmed by ſo many evidences, and all anſwer refuſed, ſhe muſt, for her part, perſevere more ſteadily in that reſolution[p]. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commiſſioners, and, after obſerving that ſhe deemed it much more decent for their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of juſtifying herſelf in perſon, ſhe told them, that Mary might either ſend her reply by a perſon whom ſhe truſted, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, whom Elizabeth ſhould appoint to wait upon her: But as to her reſolution of making no reply at all, ſhe muſt regard it as the ſtrongeſt confeſſion of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who adviſed her to that method of proceeding[q]. Theſe topics ſhe enforced ſtill more ſtrongly in a letter which ſhe wrote to Mary herſelf[r].

The queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge from theſe preſſing remonſtrances, than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth: A conceſſion

p Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 170, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 254.
q Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 179, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 268.
r Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 183. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 269.

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which, she was sensible, would never be granted [s]; because Elizabeth knew that this expedient could decide nothing; because it brought matters to extremity which that princess desired to avoid; and because it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herself better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off, she ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king [t]: But this accusation, coming so late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unsupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy [u]. She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her [w].

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the whole government into confusion. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey [x]. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plausible pretensions to the regency of the king of Scots, she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman [y],

[s] Cabala, p. 157. [t] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 280. [u] See note [M] at the end of the volume. [w] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 253. 283. 289. 310, 311. Haynes, vol. i. p. 492. See note [N] at the end of the volume. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 677. [y] MS. in the Advocates' library. A. 3. 29. p. 128, 129, 130. from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1.

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ſhe ſtill declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princeſs, diſcouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late tranſactions, would be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat from all the tempeſts with which ſhe had been agitated; and ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to reſign her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government; and the adminiſtration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray [z]. But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms, and declared that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen of Scotland. Beſides many other reaſons, ſhe ſaid, which fixed her in that reſolution, ſhe knew, that if, in the preſent emergence, ſhe made ſuch conceſſions, her ſubmiſſion would be univerſally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies [a].

Mary ſtill inſiſted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth ſhould aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or ſhould give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendſhip of other princes: And as ſhe aſſerted that ſhe had come voluntarily into England, invited by many former profeſſions of amity, ſhe thought that one or other of theſe requeſts could not, without the moſt extreme injuſtice, be refuſed her. But Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger which attended both theſe propoſals, was ſecretly reſolved to detain her ſtill a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generoſity appeared much leſs urgent than ſhe was willing to pretend. Neceſſity,

[z] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 295.
[a] Ibid. p. 301.

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it was thought, would, to the prudent, justify her detention: Her past misconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: And though it was foreseen, that compassion for Mary's situation, joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour, would, while she remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, especially of the catholics, these inconveniencies were deemed much inferior to those which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth trusted also to her own address for eluding all those difficulties: She purposed to avoid breaking absolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negotiate perpetually with her, and still to throw the blame of not coming to any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents, or on the obstinacy and perverseness of others.

We come now to mention some English affairs which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form so material a part of the present reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The chancellor, De l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: That it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between

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the nations: That though theſe places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, theſe governors were rebels; and a correſpondence with ſuch traitors was the moſt flagrant injury that could be committed on any ſovereign: That in the treaty which enſued upon the expulſion of the Engliſh from Normandy, the French miniſters had abſolutely refuſed to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: And that though a general clauſe had been inſerted, implying a reſervation of all claims, this conceſſion could not avail the Engliſh, who at that time poſſeſſed no juſt claim to Calais, and had previouſly forfeited all right to that fortreſs[b]. The queen was nowiſe ſurpriſed at hearing theſe allegations; and as ſhe knew that the French court intended not from the firſt to make reſtitution, much leſs after they could juſtify their refuſal by ſuch plauſible reaſons, ſhe thought it better for the preſent to acquieſce in the loſs, than to purſue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expenſive, as well as unſeaſonable[c].

Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for eſpouſing the archduke Charles; and ſhe ſeems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: But as ſhe was very rigorous in the terms inſiſted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he eſpouſed her, ſhould enjoy any power or title in England, and even refuſed him the exerciſe of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his addreſſes, married the daughter of Albert duke of Bavaria[d].

[b] Haynes, p. 587. [c] Camden, p. 406. [d] Ibid. p. 407, 408.

CHAP. XL.

Character of the puritans —— Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy —— Insurrection in the North —— Assassination of the earl of Murray —— A parliament —— Civil wars of France —— Affairs of the Low Countries —— New conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk —— Trial of Norfolk —— His execution —— Scotch affairs —— French affairs —— Massacre of Paris —— French affairs —— Civil wars of the Low Countries —— A parliament.

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Character of the puritans.

OF all the European churches which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England; an advantage which had been derived partly from the interposition of the civil magistrate in this innovation, partly from the gradual and slow steps by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animosity against the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution: The fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire: The ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles: Many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained: The splendour of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency: The distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: No innovation was admitted, merely from spite and

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and oppoſition to former uſage: And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient ſuperſtition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and intereſts of ſociety, had preſerved itſelf in that happy medium which wiſe men have always ſought, and which the people have ſo ſeldom been able to maintain.

BUT though ſuch, in general, was the ſpirit of the reformation in that country, many of the Engliſh reformers, being men of more warm complexions and more obſtinate tempers, endeavoured to puſh matters to extremities againſt the church of Rome, and indulged themſelves in the moſt violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among theſe, Hooper, who afterwards ſuffered for his religion with ſuch extraordinary conſtancy, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the ſee of Gloceſter, and made no ſcruple of accepting the epiſcopal office; but he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, the cymarre and rochette, which had formerly, he ſaid, been abuſed by ſuperſtition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true chriſtian. Cranmer and Ridley were ſurpriſed at this objection, which oppoſed the received practice, and even the eſtabliſhed laws; and though young Edward, deſirous of promoting a man ſo celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to diſpenſe with this ceremony, they were ſtill determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the reſolution, rather to refuſe the biſhopric than clothe himſelf in thoſe hated garments; but it was deemed requiſite, that, for the ſake of the example, he ſhould not eſcape ſo eaſily. He was firſt confined to Cranmer's houſe, then thrown into priſon till he ſhould conſent to be a biſhop on the terms propoſed: He was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the moſt celebrated foreign reformers, were

were consulted on this important question: And a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but should agree to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service[e]: A condescension not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer.

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THE same objection which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved against the rayment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots[f]. In vain was it urged, that particular habits, as well as postures and ceremonies, having been constantly used by the clergy, and employed in religious service, acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people, appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue, which attaches the affections of men to the national and established worship: That in order to produce this effect, an uniformity in these particulars is requisite, and even a perseverance, as far as possible, in the former practice: And that the nation would be happy, if, by retaining these inoffensive observances, the reformers could engage the people to renounce willingly what was absurd or pernicious in the ancient superstition. These arguments, which had influence with wise men, were the very reasons which engaged the violent protestants to reject the habits. They pushed matters to a total opposition with the church of Rome: Every compliance, they said, was a symbolising with Antichrist[g]. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, "What

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 152. Heylin, p. 90. [f] Strype, vol. i. p. 416. [g] Ibid. p. 416.

CHAP. XL. 1568. "has Christ Jesus to do with Belial? What has "darkness to do with light? If surplices, corner "caps, and tippets have been badges of idolaters "in the very act of their idolatry; why should the "preacher of Christian liberty, and the open re-"buker of all superstition, partake with the dregs "of the Romish beast? Yea, who is there that "ought not rather to be afraid of taking in his hand, "or on his forehead, the print and mark of that "odious beast[f]?" But this application was rejected by the English church.

THERE was only one instance in which the spirit of contradiction to the Romanists took place universally in England: The altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reason why this innovation met with such general reception was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making spoil of the plate, vestures, and rich ornaments which belonged to the altars[g].

THESE disputes, which had been started during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the protestants, who fled from the persecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of these men had received an increase from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their opposition to the utmost extremity against the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva, confirmed them in this obstinate reluctance; and though some of the refugees, particularly those who were established at Frankfort, still adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing spirit carried these confessors to seek a still farther reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth, they

[f] Keith, p. 565. Knox, p. 402.
[g] Heylin, preface, p. 3. Hist. p. 106.

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returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and paſt ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council. But the princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual [h]; and ſhe thought that the reformation had already gone too far in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without diſtracting men of more refined apprehenſions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuſe, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted: She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which ſhe thought proper; and though ſhe was ſparing in the exerciſe of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a great antipathy to the epiſcopal order, and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great meaſure, to conceal theſe ſentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the ſurplice, the confirmation

h *When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had ſpoken leſs reverently in a ſermon, preached before her, of the ſign of the croſs, ſhe called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion, and to return unto his text. And on the other ſide, when one of her divines had preached a ſermon in defence of the real preſence, ſhe openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.* —Heylin, p. 124. She would have abſolutely forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interpoſed. Strype's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to ſermons, and uſually ſaid, that ſhe thought two or three preachers were ſufficient for a whole county. It was probably for theſe reaſons that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that ſhe was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obſtructed his diſcipline. See life of Hooker, prefixed to his works.

of

CHAP. XL. 1568. of children, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the ſacrament, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. So fruitleſs is it for ſovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the ſword in religious controverſy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a geſture, nay a metaphyſical or grammatical diſtinction, when rendered important by the diſputes of theologians, and the zeal of the magiſtrate, is ſufficient to deſtroy the unity of the church, and even the peace of ſociety. Theſe controverſies had already excited ſuch ferment among the people, that in ſome places they refuſed to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were uſed; would not ſalute the conforming clergy; and proceeded ſo far as to revile them in the ſtreets, to ſpit in their faces, and to uſe them with all manner of contumely [i]. And while the ſovereign authority checked theſe exceſſes, the flame was confined, not extinguiſhed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, extaſies, viſions, inſpirations, have a natural averſion to epiſcopal authority, to ceremonies, rites and forms, which they denominate ſuperſtition, or beggarly elements, and which ſeem to reſtrain the liberal effuſions of their zeal and devotion: But there was another ſet of opinions adopted by theſe innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's averſion. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during ſome reigns, had

i Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 460.

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been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect. Scarcely any ſovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in ſpeculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the puritans (ſo theſe ſectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline) could not recommend themſelves worſe to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes. From all theſe motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depreſſing thoſe zealous innovators; and while they were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of her moſt favoured miniſters, Cecil, Leiceſter, Knolles, Bedford, Walſingham, ſhe never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to inſert in this place an account of the riſe and genius of the puritans; becauſe Camden marks the preſent year, as the period when they began to make themſelves conſiderable in England. We now return to our narration.

1569. Duke of Norfolk's conſpiracy.

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility; and as there were at preſent no princes of the blood, the ſplendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence; had rendered him without compariſon the firſt ſubject in England. The qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation: Beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obſequious, he poſſeſſed, without giving her any jealouſy, the good graces of his ſovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that

CHAP. XL. 1569. that party: But as he had been educated among the reformers, was ſincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life, by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the ſource of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a diſtance.

NORFOLK was at this time a widower; and being of a ſuitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared ſo natural, that it had occurred to ſeveral of his friends and thoſe of that princeſs: But the firſt perſon, who, after ſecretary Lidington, opened the ſcheme to the duke, is ſaid to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland[k]. That nobleman ſet before Norfolk both the advantage of compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be ſo generally acceptable, and the proſpect of reaping the ſucceſſion of England; and in order to bind Norfolk's intereſt the faſter with Mary's, he propoſed that the duke's daughter ſhould alſo eſpouſe the young king of Scotland. The previouſly obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumſtance eſſential to the ſucceſs of their project; and all terms being adjuſted between them, Murray took care, by means of ſir Robert Melvil, to have the deſign communicated to the queen of Scots. This princeſs replied, that the vexations which ſhe had met with in her two laſt marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a ſingle life; but ſhe was determined to ſacrifice her own inclinations to the public

k Leſley, p. 36, 37.

welfare:

welfare: And therefore, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be legally divorced from Bothwel, ſhe would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband [l]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

It is probable that Murray was not ſincere in this propoſal. He had two motives to engage him to diſſimulation. He knew the danger which he muſt run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Mary's partiſans in that country; and he dreaded an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had appointed her lieutenants during her abſence. By theſe feigned appearances of friendſhip, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen [m]; and he perſuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permiſſion, and even advice, to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the regent's party [n].

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be previouſly obtained before the completion of his marriage, had reaſon to apprehend that he never ſhould prevail with her voluntarily to make that conceſſion. He knew her petpetual and unrelenting jealouſy againſt her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foreſaw that this princeſs's eſpouſing a perſon of his power and character and intereſt, would give the greateſt umbrage; and as it would then become neceſſary to reinſtate her in poſſeſſion of her throne on ſome tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhing of her character, he dreaded leſt Elizabeth, whoſe politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to ſuch indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previouſly to gain the conſent

[l] Leſley, p. 40, 41. [m] State Trials, p. 76. 78.
[n] Leſley, p. 41.

and

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and approbation of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable nobility; and he was ſucceſsful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewſbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex[o]. Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the propoſal: Even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained ſome views of eſpouſing Mary, willingly reſigned all his pretenſions, and ſeemed to enter zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts[p]. There were other motives, beſides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, was the moſt vigilant, active, and prudent miniſter ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the intereſts of his ſovereign, which he had inflexibly purſued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himſelf, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked thoſe ſallies of paſſion, and ſometimes of caprice, to which ſhe was ſubject; and if he failed of perſuading her in the firſt movement, his perſeverance, and remonſtrances, and arguments, were ſure at laſt to recommend themſelves to her ſound diſcernment. The more credit he gained with his miſtreſs, the more was he expoſed to the envy of her other counſellors; and as he had been ſuppoſed to adopt the intereſts of the houſe of Suffolk, whoſe claim ſeemed to carry with it no danger to the preſent eſtabliſhment, his enemies, in oppoſition to him, were naturally led to attach themſelves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth ſaw, without uneaſineſs, this emulation among her courtiers, which ſerved to augment her own authority: And though ſhe ſupported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and diſſipated every conſpiracy againſt him, particularly

[o] Leſley, p. 55. Camden, p. 419. Spotſwood, p. 230.
[p] Haynes, p. 535.

cularly one laid about this time for having him throwi into the Tower on fome pretence or other[q], fhe never gave him fuch unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crufh his adverfaries. CHAP. XL. 1569.

Norfolk, fenfible of the difficulty which he muft meet with in controlling Cecil's counfels, efpecially where they concurred with the inclination as well as intereft of the queen, durft not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded ftill in the fame courfe, of increafing his intereft in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his meafures. A letter was written to Mary by Leicefter, and figned by feveral of the firft rank, recommending Norfolk for her hufband, and ftipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that fhe fhould give fufficient furety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offenfive and defenfive, fhould be made between their realms and fubjects; that the proteftant religion fhould be eftablifhed by law in Scotland; and that fhe fhould grant an amnefty to her rebels in that kingdom[r]. When Mary returned a favourable anfwer to this application, Norfolk employed himfelf with new ardour in the execution of his project; and befides fecuring the interefts of many of the confiderable gentry and nobility who refided at court, he wrote letters to fuch as lived at their country-feats, and poffeffed the greateft authority in the feveral counties[s]. The kings of France and Spain, who interefted themfelves extremely in Mary's caufe, were fecretly confulted, and expreffed their approbation of thefe meafures[t]. And though Elizabeth's confent was always fuppofed as a previous condition to

[q] Camden, p. 417. Haynes, p. 535. 539. [r] Lefley, p. 50. Camden, p. 420. [s] Lefley, p. 62. [t] Ibid. p. 63.

the

CHAP. XL. 1569. the finiſhing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded ſuch lengths without conſulting her, to render his party ſo ſtrong, that it ſhould no longer be in her power to refuſe it [u].

It was impoſſible that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could entirely eſcape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped ſeveral intimations to the duke, by which he might learn that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head [w]: But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray [x], who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt intended, for his own ſafety, and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo, as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England.

u State Trials, vol. i. p. 82.

w Camden, p. 420. Spotſwood, p. 231.

x Leſley, p. 71. It appears by Haynes, p. 521. 525. that Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See alſo the earl of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

I The

The earls of Northumberland and Weftmoreland, who poffeffed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to Lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which fhe fhould think proper to retire[y]. Sir Thomas and fir Edward Stanley, fons of the earl of Derby, fir Thomas Gerrard, Rolftone, and other gentlemen, whofe intereft lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary refided, concurred in the fame views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the fcheme, a diverfion fhould, in the mean time, be made from the fide of Flanders[z]. Norfolk difcouraged, and even in appearance fuppreffed, thefe confpiracies; both becaufe his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpofe by rebellion, and becaufe he forefaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the poffeffion of thefe men, they would rather chufe for her hufband the king of Spain, or fome foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-eftablifh the catholic religion[a]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprifes, they are commonly fo unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their defigns and their remorfes, their fear of punifhment and their hope of pardon, they render themfelves an eafy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to reprefs the furmifes fpread againft him, fpoke contemptuoufly to Elizabeth of the Scottifh alliance; affirmed that his eftate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wafted by civil wars and factions; and declared that, when he amufed himfelf in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidft his friends and vaf-

[y] Lefley, p. 76. [z] Ibid. p. 98. [a] Ibid. p. 77.

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ſals, he deemed himſelf at leaſt a petty prince, and was fully ſatisfied with his condition [b]. Finding that he did not convince her by theſe aſſeverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the miniſters, he retired to his country-ſeat without taking leave [c]. He ſoon after repented of this meaſure, and ſet out on his return to court, with a view of uſing every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Alban's by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windſor, where the court then reſided [d]. He was ſoon after committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Nevil [e]. Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council [f]. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots herſelf was removed to Coventry; all acceſs to her was, during ſome time, more ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

Inſurrections in the North.

A RUMOUR had been diffuſed in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suſſex, preſident of York, alarmed with the danger, ſent for Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof againſt them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and many appearances of its reality being diſcovered, orders were diſpatched by Elizabeth to theſe two noblemen to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct [g]. They had already proceeded ſo far in their criminal deſigns, that they dared not to truſt themſelves in her hands: They had prepared meaſures for a re-

[b] Camden, p. 420. [c] Haynes, p. 528. [d] Ibid. p. 339. [e] Camden, p. 421. Haynes, p. 540. [f] Leſley, p. 80. [g] Haynes, p. 552.

bellion;

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bellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers[h]; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops, and of a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls, precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in suspense between opposite dangers, when he was informed that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly, and hastened to his associate Westmoreland, whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals, and deliberating with regard to the measures which he should follow in the present emergence. They determined to begin the insurrection without delay; and the great credit of these two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they avowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour[i]. The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England[k].

[h] Haynes, p. 595. Strype. vol. ii. Append, p. 30. MS. in the Advocates' Library, from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9. [i] Cabala, p. 169. Strype, vol. i. p. 547. [k] Stowe, p. 663.

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The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and ſhe had beforehand, from her prudent and wiſe conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the beſt ſecurity of a ſovereign; inſomuch that even the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice[l]; and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his ſituation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suſſex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poſſeſſion. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwic and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater body, they found no other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. The common people retired to their houſes: The leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found ſkulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland received ſhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partiſans of Mary; and perſuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This ſudden and precipitate rebellion was followed ſoon after by another ſtill more imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwic, was able, without any other aſſiſtance, to quell theſe rebels. Great ſeverity was exerciſed againſt ſuch as had taken part in theſe raſh enterpriſes. Sixty ſix petty conſtables were hanged[m]; and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid, on the whole, to have ſuffered by

l Cabala, p. 170. Digges, p. 4.

m Camden, p. 423.

by the hands of the executioner[n]. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some shew of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scots[o]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

ELIZABETH now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with such modesty, and judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanour; and her friends were enabled, on some plausible grounds, to deny the reality of all those crimes which had been imputed to her[p]. Compassion for her situation, and the necessity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partisans to be active in promoting her cause; and as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could nowise be effected but by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princess to enjoy her liberty, and to seek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to support the measure which she had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies

n Lesley, p. 82. Haynes, p. 597. o Ibid. p. 98. Camden, p. 429. p Lesley, p. 232. Haynes, p. 511. 548.

CHAP. XL. 1569.

mies in Scotland, negotiated perpetually concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship to her; and by these artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any desperate efforts for her deliverance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the queen of Scots: Professions of confidence were returned by professions equally insincere: And while an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. These two princesses, in address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior, in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival.

ELIZABETH and Mary wrote at the same time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots desired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the administration remain in the regent's hands till the young prince should come to years of discretion; or that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honourable settlement made in her favour[q]. Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens: No answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had

[q] MSS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 329. p. 137. from Cot. Lib. catal. c. 1.

there

there employed the ſtyle of a ſovereign, addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects; but in reality, becauſe they ſaw that her requeſt was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or ſome powerful prince, who could ſupport her cauſe, and reſtore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were ſo derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not ſo much as deliberate concerning them: The third alone could be the ſubject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in propoſing conditions ſo unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refuſal of thoſe which were moſt advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to adjuſt all the terms of the third, ſo as to render it ſecure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that ſhe was not ſincere in any of them [r].

1569.

It is pretended that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands [s]; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England ſo dangerous, it is probable that ſhe would have been pleaſed, on any honourable or ſafe terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner who gave her ſo much inquietude [t]. But all theſe projects vaniſhed by the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a perſon of conſiderable vigour, abilities, and conſtancy; but though he was not unſucceſsful, during his regency, in compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland, his talents ſhone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and auſtere; and he poſſeſſed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

1570.

23d. Jan. Aſſaſſination of the earl of Murray.

[r] Spotſwood, p. 230, 231. Leſley, p. 71. [s] Camden, p. 425. Leſley, p. 83. [t] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XL. 1570.

By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, seemed to favour her cause; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averse to her, that her authority might again acquire the ascendant. To check its progress, Elizabeth dispatched Sussex with an army to the North, under colour of chastising the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waste the lands of the Kers and Scots, seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's partisans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards sent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houses of the Hamiltons who were engaged in the same faction. The English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promised, in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partisans [u].

But though the queen, covering herself with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far contributed to support the party of the young king of Scots, she was cautious not to declare openly against Mary; and she even sent a request, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princess, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray [w]. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore chosen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partisans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she

[u] Lesley, p. 91. [w] Spotswood, p. 240.

permitted

permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of Regent[x], and ſhe ſent Randolph, as her reſident, to maintain a correſpondence with him. But notwithſtanding this ſtep, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, ſhe never laid aſide her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princeſs. Being importuned by the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means ſtopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the oppoſite party[y]. By theſe ſeeming contrarieties ſhe kept alive the factions in Scotland, increaſed their mutual animoſity, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of devaſtation and of miſery[z]. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and conſequently no intereſt or deſign to inſtigate the parties againſt each other; but this conſequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which ſhe was engaged, as far as poſſible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendſhip with her, at leaſt thoſe of neutrality[a].

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The better to amuſe Mary with the proſpect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were ſent to her with propoſals from Elizabeth. The terms were ſomewhat rigorous, ſuch as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of ſincerity on the part of the Engliſh court. It was required that the queen of Scots, beſides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, ſhould make a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould marry no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's conſent, nor any other perſon without the conſent of

[x] Spotſwood, p. 241. [y] Ibid. p. 243. [z] Crawford, p. 136.
[a] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

the

CHAP. XL. 1570. the ſtates of Scotland; that compenſation ſhould be made for the late ravages committed in England; that juſtice ſhould be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince ſhould be ſent into England, to be educated there; and that ſix hoſtages, all of them noblemen, ſhould be delivered to the queen of England, with the caſtle of Hume, and ſome other fortreſs, for the ſecurity of performance [b]. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promiſed to contribute her endeavours towards the reſtoration of the depoſed queen. The neceſſity of Mary's affairs obliged her to conſent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when conſulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any aſſiſtance [c].

Elizabeth's commiſſioners propoſed alſo to Mary a plan of accommodation with her ſubjects in Scotland; and after ſome reaſoning on that head, it was agreed that the queen ſhould require Lenox, the regent, to ſend commiſſioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partiſans of Mary boaſted, that all terms were fully ſettled with the court of England, and that the Scottiſh rebels would ſoon be conſtrained to ſubmit to the authority of their ſovereign: But Elizabeth took care that theſe rumours ſhould meet with no credit, and that the king's party ſhould not be diſcouraged, nor ſink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's propoſals, ſo far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be diſcuſſed anew in the conference; and deſired him to ſend commiſſioners who ſhould be conſtant in the king's cauſe,

[b] Spotſwood, p. 245. Leſley, p. 101. [c] Leſley, p. 109, &c.

and

and cautious not to make conceſſions which might be prejudicial to their party[d]. Suſſex alſo, in his letters, dropped hints to the ſame purpoſe; and Elizabeth herſelf ſaid to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had ſent to the court of England, that ſhe would not inſiſt on Mary's reſtoration, provided the Scots could make the juſtice of their cauſe appear to her ſatisfaction; and that, even if their reaſons ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſecurity[e]. CHAP. XL. 1570.

THE parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton and ſir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty. These commiſſioners preſented memorials, containing reaſons for the depoſition of their queen; and they ſeconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottiſh hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the ſentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained, of the abſolute, indefeaſible right of ſovereigns, made her be ſhocked with theſe republican topics; and ſhe told the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that ſhe was nowiſe ſatisfied with their reaſons for juſtifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required for their ſecurity[f]. They replied, that their commiſſion did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title and ſovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever propoſals ſhould be made them by her majeſty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not diſadvantageous to Mary; but as the commiſſioners ſtill inſiſted, that they were not authoriſed to treat in any manner concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs[g], the 1571. 1ſt March.

[d] Spotſwood, p. 245. [e] Ibid. p. 247, 248. [f] Ibid. p. 248, 249. [g] Haynes, p. 623.

conferences

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conferences were necessarily at an end; and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions, that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament[h]. The bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council, that they had abused his mistress by fair promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments, matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

An incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendship of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued at last a bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance[i]. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which was at that time in agitation[k]. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was seized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition[l].

[h] Spotswood, p. 249, 250, &c. Lesley, p. 133. 136. Camden, p. 431, 432. [i] Camden, p. 427. [k] Ibid. p. 441. from Cajetanus's Life of Pius V. [l] Camden, p. 428.

A NEW

CHAP. XL.

1571. 2d of Apr. A parliament.

A NEW parliament, after five years' interval, was assembled at Westminster; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable. It was so in fact; yet is it remarkable, that it prevailed not without some small opposition; and that too arising chiefly from the height of zeal for protestantism; a disposition, of the English, which in general contributed extremely to increase the queen's popularity. We shall be somewhat particular in relating the transactions of this session, because they show, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. It will be curious also to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in opposition to it, and the ease with which it was subdued by this arbitrary princess.

THE lord keeper Bacon, after the speaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of state[m]: Such was his expression; by which he probably meant, the questions of the queen's marriage and the succession, about which they had before given her some uneasiness: For as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negotiations; no parliament in that age ever presumed to take them under consideration, or question, in these particulars, the conduct of their sovereign, or of his ministers.

IN the former parliament, the puritans had introduced seven bills for a farther reformation in re-

[m] D'Ewes, p. 141.

ligion;

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ligion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them[n]. This house of commons had sitten a very few days, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy[o]. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added the kneeling at the sacrament; and remarked that, if a posture of humiliation were requisite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition[p].

RELIGION was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration[q]. The courtiers did not forget to insist on this topic: The treasurer of the household, though he allowed that any heresy might be repressed by parliament (a concession which seems to have been rash and unguarded; since the act, investing the crown with the supremacy, or rather recognising that prerogative, gave the sovereign full power to reform all heresies), yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship[r]. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and said that the house might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pistor opposed these remonstrances of the courtiers. He was scandalised,

n D'Ewes, p. 185. o Ibid. p. 156, 157. p Ibid. p. 167.
q Ibid. p. 158. r Ibid. p. 166.

he

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he ſaid, that affairs of ſuch infinite conſequence (namely, kneeling and making the ſign of the croſs) ſhould be paſſed over ſo lightly. Theſe queſtions, he added, concern the ſalvation of ſouls, and intereſt every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cauſe he ſhewed to be the cauſe of God; the reſt were all but terrene, yea trifles in compariſon, call them ever ſo great: Subſidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had when laid in the balance with ſubjects of ſuch unſpeakable importance[s]. Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion, that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it[t].

MATTERS would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Stricland's preſumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the houſe of commons[u]. This act of power was too violent even for the ſubmiſſive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the houſe were invaded; obſerved that Stricland was not a private man, but repreſented a multitude; and moved, that he might be ſent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might anſwer for it at the bar of the houſe, which he inſinuated to be the only competent tribunal[w]. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with ſtill greater boldneſs. He ſaid, that the precedent was dangerous: And though in this happy time of lenity, among ſo many good and honourable perſonages as were at preſent inveſted with authority, nothing of extremity or

[s] D'Ewes, p. 166. [t] Ibid. p. 167. [u] Ibid. p. 175.
[w] Ibid.

CHAP. XL. 1571. injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be construed as duty; and might be enforced even on the ground of the present permission. He added, that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined. He remarked, that men sat not in that house in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority [x].

These principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open assertion of them was, at this time, somewhat new in England: And the courtiers were more warranted by present practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treasurer warned the house to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their assured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majesty in any doubtful cause. The member, he said, whose attendance they required, was not restrained on account of any liberty of speech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the house against the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with observing, that even speeches, made in that house, had been questioned and examined by the sovereign [y]. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable, and that the safety of the queen is the safety of the subject. He added, that, in questions of divinity, every man was for his instruction to

[x] D'Ewes, p. 175, 176. [y] Ibid. p. 175.

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repair to his ordinary; and he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen[z]. Fleetwood observed, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the present queen, had been called to account for a speech in the house. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for him: In the subsequent reign the speaker himself was committed with another member; and the house found no other remedy than a like submissive application. He advised the house to have recourse to the same expedient; and not to presume either to send for their member, or demand him as of right[a]. During this speech, those members of the privy-council who sat in the house whispered together; upon which the speaker moved, that the house should make stay of all farther proceedings: A motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the house; and lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Stricland her permission to give his attendance in parliament[b].

NOTWITHSTANDING this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons still engaged them to continue the discussion of those other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condescended to be her instruments. This house sent a message to the commons, desiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpose; and the upper house

[z] D'Ewes, p. 175. [a] Ibid. p. 176. [b] Idem, ibid.

 acquainted

CHAP. XL. 1571. acquainted them, that the queen's majesty being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish them, and to make the bishops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the church of England: But that she would not permit them to be treated of in parliament [c]. The house, though they did not entirely stop proceedings on account of this injunction, seem to have been nowise offended at such haughty treatment; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

A MOTION made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol [d], gave also occasion to several remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders by the mouth of the speaker, commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood that she had been offended, because a matter had been moved which seemed to touch her prerogative [e]. Fleetwood accordingly spoke of this delicate subject. He observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent, was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subject to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence; because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He shewed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III.

c D'Ewes, p. 180, 185. d Ibid. p. 185. e Ibid. p. 159.

and Henry IV. with a saving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI.'s time, the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative[f]. CHAP. XL. 1571.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant and renowned sea-adventurer, carried these topics still farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever should attempt so much as in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? And though experience has shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty; it is not good to sport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation that all horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue he seems to insinuate, that even those who heard or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from danger. He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship[g].

Though this speech gave some disgust, nobody, at the time, replied any thing, but that sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: They never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent

f D'Ewes, p. 160. g Ibid. p. 168.

 debate,

CHAP. XL. 1571. debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of a ſuperior free ſpirit, called that ſpeech an inſult on the houſe; noted ſir Humphrey's diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe a due care of liberty of ſpeech, and of the privileges of parliament [h]. It appears, on the whole, that the motion againſt the excluſive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who firſt introduced it, was ſent for by the council, and was ſeverely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the houſe with ſuch an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reaſon, were ſtruck with terror; and during ſome time no one durſt riſe to ſpeak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were ſomewhat abated, the members ſpoke with extreme precaution; and by employing moſt of their diſcourſe in preambles and apologies, they ſhewed their conſcious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever ſo gently; nay ſeemed to be approached, though at ever ſo great a diſtance, the whiſper ran about the houſe, "The "queen will be offended; the council will be ex"tremely diſpleaſed:" And by theſe ſurmiſes men were warned of the danger to which they expoſed themſelves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects [i].

29th May. THUS every thing which paſſed the two houſes was extremely reſpectful and ſubmiſſive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to check, and that with great

h D'Ewes, p. 175. i Ibid. p. 242.

ſeverity,

ſeverity, thoſe feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and ſpeeches of ſome members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majeſty's name, that, though the majority of the lower houſe had ſhewn themſelves in their proceedings diſcreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had diſcovered a contrary character, and had juſtly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous: Contrary to their duty both as ſubjects and parliament men, nay contrary to the expreſs injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the ſeſſion, injunctions which it might well become them to have better attended to, they had preſumed to call in queſtion her majeſty's grants and prerogatives. But her majeſty warns them, that ſince they thus wilfully forget themſelves, they are otherwiſe to be admoniſhed: Some other ſpecies of correction muſt be found for them; ſince neither the commands of her majeſty, nor the example of their wiſer brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowiſe belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compaſs of their underſtanding[k].

In all theſe tranſactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvaſs any matters of ſtate; ſtill leſs were they to meddle with the church. Queſtions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to thoſe councils and miniſters with whom he was pleaſed to entruſt them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preſervation of pheaſants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the puniſhment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of

[k] D'Ewes, p. 151.

CHAP. XL. 1571. the country came properly under their inſpection; and the laws of this kind which they preſcribed had, if not a greater, yet a more durable authority, than thoſe which were derived ſolely from the proclamations of the ſovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for deciſions in private property, or the puniſhment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other ſource than the parliament; nor would the courts of juſtice be induced to change their eſtabliſhed practice by an order of council. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies; the attainting and puniſhing of the obnoxious nobility, or any miniſter of ſtate after his fall; the countenancing of ſuch great efforts of power, as might be deemed ſomewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the ſovereign. The redreſs of grievances was ſometimes promiſed to the people; but ſeldom could have place, while it was an eſtabliſhed rule, that the prerogatives of the crown muſt not be abridged, or ſo much as queſtioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and excluſive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increaſing to the deſtruction of all liberty, and extinction of all induſtry; it was criminal in a member to propoſe, in the moſt dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application againſt any of them.

These maxims of government were not kept ſecret by Elizabeth, or ſmoothed over by any fair appearances or plauſible pretences. They were openly avowed in her ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtineſs, nay ſometimes bitterneſs, of expreſſion, which the meaneſt ſervant could look for from his offended maſter. Yet notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the moſt popular ſovereign that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England; becauſe the

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the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the conſtitution. The continued encroachments of popular aſſemblies on Elizabeth's ſucceſſors have ſo changed our ideas in theſe matters, that the paſſages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at firſt ſurpriſing; but they were ſo little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other hiſtorian, has taken any notice of them. So abſolute indeed was the authority of the crown, that the precious ſpark of liberty had been kindled, and was preſerved, by the puritans alone; and it was to this ſect, whoſe principles appear ſo frivolous and habits ſo ridiculous, that the Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution. Actuated by that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the courage which enthuſiaſm inſpires, they hazarded the utmoſt indignation of their ſovereign; and employing all their induſtry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult while a ſeat was rather regarded as a burthen than an advantage[1], they firſt acquired a majority in that aſſembly, and then obtained an aſcendant over the church and monarchy.

The following were the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof: To maintain in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon and all his abettors, for the firſt of-

[1] It appeared this ſeſſion, that a bribe of four pounds had been given to a mayor for a ſeat in parliament. D'Ewes, p. 181. It is probable that the member had no other view than the privilege of being free from arreſts.

 fence,

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fence, to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: The second offence subjected them to the penalty of a premunire [m]. This law was plainly levelled against the queen of Scots and her partisans; and implied an avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her successor. It may be noted, that the usual phrase of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was the source of pleasantry during the time; and some suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's demise, to produce some bastard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring [n].

It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls should publish absolutions or other rescripts of the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who were so reconciled, should be guilty of treason. The penalty of a premunire was imposed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, consecrated by the pope [o]. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute [p]. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in asking them for any supply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth possessed such uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, and such extensive in-

[m] 13 Eliz. c. 1. [n] Camden, p. 436. [o] 13 Eliz. c. 2.
[p] Ibid. c. 8.

fluence

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fluence over her people; though during a course of thirteen years she had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the hasty and ill-concerted insurrection in the north; she was still kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, seemed in one view to secure her against any disturbance; but they served, on more reflection, to instruct her in the danger of her situation, when she remarked that England, no less than these neighbouring countries, contained the seeds of intestine discord, the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animosity of the opposite sectaries.

Civil wars of France.

THE league formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religious zeal as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed, with entire submission, the orders of their leaders, who were ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen-mother were living in great security at Montceaux in Brie, when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics,

CHAP. XL. 1571. lics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animosity of those religionists, that even had the leaders on both sides been ever so sincere in their intentions for peace, and reposed ever so much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance[q]. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed and his army defeated. This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having placed at the head of the protestants the prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to perish bravely in the field, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner. He collected such numbers, so determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head against the duke of Anjou; and being strengthened

[q] Davila, lib. 4.

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by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat, and to divide his forces.

Coligni then laid siege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the place, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guise. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the son; and men pleased themselves in comparing all the great and shining qualities which seemed in a manner hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in address, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal also in valour, in conduct, in enterprise, in capacity; there seemed only this difference between them, that the son, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater dissolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprises still more destructive to the authority of his sovereign, and to the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowise pleased with this new rise of her enemies the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the protestants, whose interests were connected with her own [r], she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion from all rebellion, and from all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance. Besides employing her authority with the German princes, she lent money to the queen of Navarre,

[r] Haynes, p. 471.

and

CHAP. XL. 1571. and received ſome jewels as pledges for the loan. And ſhe permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and tranſport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in that great ſchool of military valour[s]. The admiral, conſtrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of ſubſiſting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithſtanding their frequent experience of the obſtinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themſelves that the force of the rebels was at laſt finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations againſt a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were ſurpriſed to hear that this leader had appeared, without diſmay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like conſtancy; had aſſembled an army; had taken the field; and was even ſtrong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminiſhed by the continued diſorders of the kingdom, and waſted by ſo many fruitleſs military enterpriſes, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithſtanding his extreme animoſity againſt the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all paſt offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conſcience.

THOUGH a pacification was ſeemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowiſe reconciled to his rebellious ſubjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a ſnare by which the perfidious court had projected to deſtroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the

[s] Camden, p. 423.

two

two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, inſtructed by paſt experience, diſcovered an extreme diſtruſt of the king's intentions, and kept themſelves in ſecurity at a diſtance, all poſſible artifices were employed to remove their apprehenſions, and to convince them of the ſincerity of the new counſels which ſeemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiouſly obſerved to them; the toleration was ſtrictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it were puniſhed with ſeverity; offices, and favours, and honours, were beſtowed on the principal nobility among the proteſtants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil diſorders, and convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exerciſe of his religion.

Among the other artifices employed to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, Charles affected to enter into cloſe connection with Elizabeth; and as it ſeemed not the intereſt of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princeſs the more eaſily flattered herſelf that the French monarch would prefer her friendſhip to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, propoſals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether inſenſible to theſe endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were propoſed; difficulties ſtarted and removed; and the two courts, equally inſincere, though not equally culpable, ſeemed to approach every day nearer to each

CHAP. XL. 1571. each other in their demands and conceſſions. The great obſtacle ſeemed to lie in adjuſting the difference of religion; becauſe Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her huſband; and the duke of Anjou ſeemed unwilling to ſubmit, for the ſake of intereſt, to the diſhonour of an apoſtacy [t].

The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed ſo much in any contrivances as in thoſe which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final concluſion, venture the farther in their conceſſions and offers to her. The queen alſo had other motives for diſſimulation. Beſides the advantage of diſcouraging Mary's partiſans, by the proſpect of an alliance between France and England, her ſituation with Philip demanded her utmoſt vigilance and attention; and the violent authority eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, made her deſirous of fortifying herſelf even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

Affairs of the Low Countries.

The theological controverſies which had long agitated Europe had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and as theſe provinces maintained an extenſive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom with which they correſponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealouſly propagated by prieſts, and implicitly received by ſovereigns, that hereſy was cloſely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would ſeldom allow them to wait the conſent of the magiſtrate to their innovations: They

[t] Camden, p. 433. Davila, lib. v. Digges's Complete Ambaſſador, p. 84. 110, 111.

became

became leſs dutiful when oppoſed and puniſhed: And though their pretended ſpirit of reaſoning and enquiry was, in reality, nothing but a new ſpecies of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm, as if no inſtitutions could be ſecure from the temerity of their reſearches. The emperor Charles, who propoſed to augment his authority, under pretence of defending the catholic faith, eaſily adopted theſe political principles; and notwithſtanding the limited prerogative which he poſſeſſed in the Netherlands, he publiſhed the moſt arbitrary, ſevere, and tyrannical edicts againſt the proteſtants; and he took care that the execution of them ſhould be no leſs violent and ſanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigoted in his natural diſpoſition; yet an hiſtorian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by the hands of the executioner [u]. But theſe ſevere remedies, far from anſwering the purpoſes intended, had rather ſerved to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing no end of thoſe barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel againſt their principles, and declined any farther perſecution of the new doctrines.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were juſtly alarmed with new apprehenſions; leſt their prince, obſerving the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and ſhould eſtabliſh the inquiſition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The ſevere and unrelenting character of the man, his profeſſed attachment to Spaniſh manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all

[u] Grotii Annal. lib. i. Father Paul, another great authority, computes in a paſſage above cited, that fifty thouſand perſons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

theſe

CHAP. XL. 1571. these circumstances increased their terror: And when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of those tyrannical orders which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the duchess of Parma governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been entrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics on which Philip so highly valued himself. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the duchess; that cardinal Granville entirely possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men showed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most unwarrantable disorders.

THE wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which

their own discontents had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the governess, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with the re-establishment of his ancient authority: He considered, that provinces so remote from the seat of government could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who must intreat rather than command, would necessarily, when he resided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular disorders, as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority.

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In the execution of this violent design, he employed a man, who was a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those violences which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It suffices to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expresly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and

past

CHAP. XL. 1571. paſt ſervices, brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: And notwithſtanding the peaceable ſubmiſſion of all men, nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture, and death.

ELIZABETH was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of that ſcheme, laid for the extermination of the proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power, in a ſtate ſituated in ſo near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemiſh exiles who took ſhelter in her dominions; and as many of theſe were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreſeeing that the violent government of Alva could not long ſubſiſt without exciting ſome commotion, ſhe ventured to commit an inſult upon him, which ſhe would have been cautious not to hazard againſt a more eſtabliſhed authority. Some Genoeſe merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to tranſport into Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ſhips pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding upon inquiry that it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, took poſſeſſion of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity. Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants; and gave all the

 Engliſh

English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip. CHAP. XL.

THESE differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: But nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: He also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: The duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet: And thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards[w]. 1571.

ALL the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whose measures were ever violent, soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correspondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry[x]. He had been thrown into prison at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been discovered; but either no proof was found against him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and

New conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk.

w Bentivoglio, part I. lib. v. Camden, p. 416.
x Lesley, p. 123. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87.

 he

CHAP. XL. 1571. he ſoon after recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government, by a foreign invaſion and a domeſtic inſurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found that, as ſhe was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, ſhe willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of diſcontented catholics were the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; and they alſo obſerved, that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry chiefly younger brothers, who having at preſent, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no proſpect of a livelihood ſuitable to their birth, were ready to throw themſelves into any deſperate enterpriſe[y]. But in order to inſpire life and courage into all theſe malcontents, it was requiſite that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots[z]; but finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill, in ſome degree, reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs[a]. A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts; and

y Leſley, p. 123. z Haynes, p. 571.
a State Trials, vol. i. p. 102.

as his remorſes gradually diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterpriſes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her [b]. Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters, in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them [c]. He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions [d]; and every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithſtanding theſe criminal enterpriſes, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had laid the plan both of an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill flattered himſelf, that the innocence of his intentions would juſtify the violence of his meaſures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining

[b] Leſley, p. 155. State Trials, vol. i. p. 86, 87. [c] Leſley, p. 159. 161. Camden, p. 432. [d] State Trials, vol. i. p. 93.

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of Elizabeth's confent to his marriage, he could not juftly reproach himfelf as a rebel and a traitor [e]. It is certain, however, that, confidering the queen's vigour and fpirit, the fcheme, if fuccefsful, muft finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here expofed to the utmoft danger.

THE confpiracy hitherto had entirely efcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of fecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they firft obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at laft to a full difcovery. Mary had intended to fend a fum of money to lord Herries, and her partifans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannifter, a fervant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find fome expedient for conveying it to lord Herries [f]. He entrufted the money to a fervant who was not in the fecret, and told him that the bag contained a fum of money in filver, which he was to deliver to Bannifter with a letter: But the fervant conjecturing, from the weight and fize of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Bannifter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's fecretary, to be put under arreft, and to undergo a fevere examination. Torture made them confefs the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the houfe, full evidence now appeared againft his mafter [g]. Norfolk himfelf, who was entirely ignorant of the difcoveries made by his fervants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confeffion, he perfifted in denying every crime, with

e Lefley, p. 155.

f Ibid. p. 169. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87. Camden, p. 434. Digges, p. 134. 137. 140. Strype, vol. ii. p. 82.

g Lefley, p. 173.

which

which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have pardoned all his former offences [h]; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been committed to cuſtody before the diſcovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his ſhare in the conſpiracy. He at firſt inſiſted on his privilege; but he was told, that as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambaſſador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conſpiring againſt the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided [i]. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, he was informed of the confeſſion made by Norfolk's ſervants, after which he no longer ſcrupled to make a full diſcovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all queſtion. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the ſtrict rules obſerved at preſent in theſe matters; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the priſoner: A laudable practice, which was not at that time obſerved in trials for high treaſon.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

1572. 12th Jan. Trial of Norfolk.

THE queen ſtill heſitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that ſhe was really moved by friendſhip and compaſſion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praiſe of clemency, ſhe only put on the appearance of theſe ſentiments. Twice ſhe ſigned a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal ſentence [k]; and though her miniſters and counſellors puſhed her

[h] Leſley, p. 175. [i] Ibid. p. 189. Spotſwood. [k] Carte, p. 527. from Fenelon's Diſpatches. Digges, p. 166. Strype, vol. ii. p. 83.

CHAP. XL.

1572. His execution. 8th May. 2d June.

to rigour, ſhe ſtill appeared irreſolute and undetermined. After four months heſitation, a parliament was aſſembled, and the commons addreſſed her, in ſtrong terms, for the execution of the duke; a ſanction, which, when added to the greatneſs and certainty of his guilt, would, ſhe thought, juſtify, in the eyes of all mankind, her ſeverity againſt that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered[l]. That we may relate together affairs of a ſimilar nature, we ſhall mention, that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was alſo, a few months after, brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion.

The queen of Scots was either the occaſion or the cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and might reaſonably, from the harſh treatment which ſhe had met with, think herſelf entitled to uſe any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durſt not, as yet, form any reſolution of proceeding to extremities againſt her. She only ſent lord Delawar, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given diſpleaſure to Elizabeth: Her aſſuming the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, concurring in the northern rebellion[m], practiſing with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invaſion of England[n], procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and al-

[l] Camden, p. 440. Strype, vol. ii. App. p. 23. [m] Digges, p. 16. 107. Strype, vol. ii. p. 51, 52. [n] Ibid. p. 194, 208, 209. Strype, vol. ii. p. 40. 51.

 lowing

lowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary juſtified herſelf from the ſeveral articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others [o]. But the queen was little ſatisfied with her apology, and the parliament was ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed ſome topics derived from practice and reaſon, and the laws of nations; but the chief ſtreſs was laid on paſſages and examples from the Old Teſtament [p], which, if conſidered as a general rule of conduct (an intention which it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe), would lead to conſequences deſtructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princeſs, ſatisfied with ſhewing Mary the diſpoſition of the nation, ſent to the houſe her expreſs commands not to deal any farther at preſent in the affair of the Scottiſh queen [q]. Nothing could be a ſtronger proof, that the puritanical intereſt prevailed in the houſe, than the intemperate uſe of authorities derived from ſcripture, eſpecially from the Old Teſtament; and the queen was ſo little a lover of that ſect, that ſhe was not likely to make any conceſſion merely in deference to their ſolicitation. She ſhewed, this ſeſſion, her diſapprobation of their ſchemes in another remarkable inſtance. The commons had paſſed two bills for regulating eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; but ſhe ſent them a like imperious meſſage with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, ſhe ſtopped all farther proceeding in thoſe matters [r].

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But though Elizabeth would not carry matters to ſuch extremities againſt Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, ſhe was alarmed at the

[o] Camden, p. 442.
[p] D'Ewes, p. 207, 208, &c.
[q] Ibid. p. 219. 241.
[r] Ibid. p. 213. 238.

great

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great intereſt and the reſtleſs ſpirit of that princeſs, as well as her cloſe connections with Spain; and ſhe thought it neceſſary both to increaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from thoſe which ſhe had hitherto purſued in her management of Scotland [s]. That kingdom remained ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent. By a ſudden and unexpected inroad, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, ſallying from the caſtle, were likely to reſcue him, they inſtantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was choſen regent in his room; and found the ſame difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party [t]. He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit, and ſcorned to ſubmit to any dependance on England; and for this reaſon, Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connections with France, yielded with leſs reluctance to the ſolicitations of that court, ſtill maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland [u]. But affairs ſoon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the diſtracted ſtate of the country affected him: Morton was choſen regent; and as this nobleman had ſecretly taken all his meaſures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendſhip of the French court, ſhe reſolved to exert herſelf more effectually for the ſupport of the party which

Scotch affairs.

[s] Digges, p. 152. [t] Spotſwood, p. 263.

[u] Digges, p. 156, 165, 169.

ſhe

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ſhe had always favoured. She ſent ſir Henry Killegrew ambaſſador to Scotland, who found Mary's partiſans ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery and puniſhment of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity from all paſt offences [x]. The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the moſt conſiderable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on theſe conditions. The garriſon alone of the caſtle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were deſperate; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obſtinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give diſturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; ſhe no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, ſhe found, would not any longer be amuſed by her artifices; ſhe had an implicit reliance on Morton; and ſhe ſaw that by the ſubmiſſion of all the conſiderable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an eaſy, as well as a moſt important undertaking. She ordered, therefore, ſir William Drury, governor of Berwic, to march with ſome troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to beſiege the caſtle [y]. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed: Secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died ſoon after a voluntary death, as is ſuppoſed; and Scotland, ſubmitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any further inquietude to Elizabeth.

French affairs.

The events which happened in France were not ſo agreeable to the queen's intereſts and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been ſo often made with the hugonots, gave them reaſon to ſuſpect

[x] Spotſwood, p. 268.

[y] Camden, p. 449.

the

CHAP. XL. 1572. the present intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He considered besides, that as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unlikely, that a prince, who had newly come to years of discretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure[z], such deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or difficult, and almost impossible, to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots, began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the

11th Apr. former[a], and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

The better to blind the jealous hugonots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them,

[z] Digges, p. 8. 39. [a] Camden, p. 443.

Charles

Charles offered his ſiſter, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the conſiderable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to aſſiſt at the celebration of theſe nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compoſe the differences, at leaſt appeaſe the bloody animoſity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poiſoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by an aſſaſſin: Yet Charles, redoubling his diſſimulation, was ſtill able to retain the hugonots in their ſecurity; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the ſignal was given for a general maſſacre of thoſe religioniſts, and the king himſelf, in perſon, led the way to theſe aſſaſſinations. The hatred long entertained by the Pariſians againſt the proteſtants, made them ſecond, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and perſons of every condition, age, and ſex, ſuſpected of any propenſity to that religion, were involved in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The admiral, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had ſignalized themſelves by the moſt heroic actions, were miſerably butchered, without reſiſtance; the ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than ſatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had ſaved the victims from farther inſult, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank periſhed in this maſſacre, and near ten thouſand of inferior condition [b]. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the proteſtants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been

CHAP. XL. 1572.

24th Aug.

Maſſacre of Paris.

[b] Davila, lib. v.

proposed

CHAP. XL. 1572. proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion.

CHARLES, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the hugonots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. That minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman[c]; yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of his master had so well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face: Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herself[d]. That princess received him with a more easy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She then told him, that though, on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on

c Digges, p. 247.
d Carte, vol. iii. p. 522. from Fenelon's Dispatches.

the

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the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner, she had hitherto suspended her judgment, till farther and more certain information should be brought her: That the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: That the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for a trial, and for punishment by a legal sentence, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: That the admiral, in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: That it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy and without distinction: That if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the protestants to be real, how much more so, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their destruction? That if, upon enquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlasting dishonour: And that for her part, she should form her judgment of his intentions by his subsequent conduct; and in the mean time should act as desired by the ambassador, and rather pity than blame his master for the extremities to which he had been carried [e].

[e] Digges, p. 247, 248.

ELIZABETH

CHAP. XL.

1572.

Elizabeth was fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe now ſtood. In the maſſacre of Paris, ſhe ſaw the reſult of that general conſpiracy, formed for the extermination of the proteſtants; and ſhe knew that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of the new religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt fury and reſentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as well as in bigotry, had now laid aſide their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the moſt entire friendſhip [f], ſhe had reaſon, as ſoon as they had appeaſed their domeſtic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counſels. The duke of Guiſe alſo, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a diſtance, had now acquired an open and entire aſcendant in the court of France; and ſhe was ſenſible that theſe princes, from perſonal as well as political reaſons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and cloſe confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in cuſtody, was actuated by a reſtleſs ſpirit, and, beſides her foreign allies, poſſeſſed numerous and zealous partiſans in the heart of the kingdom. For theſe reaſons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but ſtill to liſten to the profeſſions of friendſhip which he made her. She allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother [g]: Thoſe with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She ſent the earl of Worceſter to aſſiſt in her name at the baptiſm of a young princeſs, born to Charles; but before ſhe agreed to give him this laſt mark of condeſcenſion, ſhe thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expreſſions of

[f] Digges, p. 268. 282. [g] Ibid. paſſim. Camden, p. 447.

blame

blame, and even of deteſtation, againſt the cruelties exerciſed on his proteſtant ſubjects[h]. Meanwhile, ſhe prepared herſelf for that attack which ſeemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romaniſts: She fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, cultivated popularity with her ſubjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no leſs alarmed than herſelf at theſe treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures, ſo univerſally embraced by the catholics. 1572.

BUT though Elizabeth cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greateſt ſecurity that ſhe poſſeſſed againſt his violence was derived from the difficulties which the obſtinate reſiſtance of the hugonots ſtill created to him. Such of that ſect as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the firſt news of the maſſacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compaſſion and indignation of the proteſtants, and prepared themſelves, with encreaſed forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous ſlaughter of their brethren. Thoſe who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took ſhelter in the neareſt garriſons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The ſect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thouſand men on foot, and poſſeſſed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, caſtles, or fortreſſes[i]; nor could that prince deem himſelf ſecure from the invaſion threatened him by all the other proteſtants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were rouſed to

French affairs.

1573.

[h] Digges, p. 297, 298. Camden, p. 447. [i] Digges, p. 343.

 ſuch

CHAP. XL. 1573. ſuch a pitch of reſentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own charge: But Elizabeth, who was cautious in her meaſures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by theſe dangerous cruſades, refuſed her conſent, and moderated the zeal of her ſubjects[k]. The German princes, leſs political or more ſecure from the reſentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the proteſtants; and the young prince of Condé, having eſcaped from court, put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many conſiderable men even among the catholics, diſpleaſed, either on a private or public account, with the meaſures of the court, favoured the progreſs of the hugonots; and every thing relapſed into confuſion. The king, inſtead of repenting his violent counſels, which had brought matters to ſuch
1574. extremities, called aloud for new violences[l]; nor could even the mortal diſtemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animoſity by which
30th May. he was actuated. He died without male iſſue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whoſe character, containing that unuſual mixture of diſſimulation and ferocity, of quick reſentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greateſt miſchiefs, and threatened ſtill worſe, both to his native country and to all Europe.

Henry, duke of Anjou, who had, ſome time before, been elected king of Poland, no ſooner heard of his brother's death, than he haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the throne of France; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greateſt preſent

k Digges, p. 335. 341.

l Davila, lib. v.

diſorders,

disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. The religious connections had, on both sides, superseded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by present interest), two empires being secretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of interest to follow those leaders, to whom, during the course of past convulsions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment.

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Henry, observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the talents of dissimulation requisite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound judgment, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere still more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause which they espoused. The hugonots were strengthened by the accession of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Casimir; but much more by the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry,

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CHAP. XL. 1576. in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more sincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the highest disgust to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the measures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

THAT artful and bold leader took thence an occasion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the first foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the past severities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a concession for liberty of conscience, which would probably have appeased the reformers, excited the greatest resentment in the
1577. catholics. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its efforts against the hugonots, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists. But his dilatory and feeble measures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and after some unsuccessful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the protestants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidenee still prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily whetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

THE

THE king, hoping by his artifice and ſubtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleaſure and repoſe, was himſelf caught in the ſnare; and, ſinking into a diſſolute indolence, wholly loſt the eſteem, and, in a great meaſure, the affections of his people. Inſtead of advancing ſuch men of character and abilities as were neuters between theſe dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium againſt his adminiſtration. The public burdens, encreaſed by his profuſe liberality, and felt more heavy on a diſordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animoſity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open ſtate of foreign or even domeſtic hoſtility. The artifices of the king were too refined to ſucceed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves without reſerve to one or the other of thoſe great leaders.

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THE civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foreſight and vigilance, though ſomewhat reſtrained by her frugality, led her to take ſecretly ſome part in them. Beſides employing on all occaſions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, ſhe had expended no inconſiderable ſums in levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir conducted into France[m]; and notwithſtanding her negotiations with the court, and her profeſſions of amity, ſhe always conſidered her own intereſts as connected with the proſperity of the French pro-

[m] Camden, p. 452.

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testants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league; had entered into the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The sympathy of religion, which of itself begat a connection of interests, was one considerable inducement; but that monarch had also in view, the subduing of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French protestants, would, he hoped, finally despair of success, after the entire suppression of their friends and confederates.

Civil wars of the Low Countries.

THE same political views which engaged Elizabeth to support the hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprises; and they made an assault on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success, and, after a short resistance, became masters of the place[n]. The duke of Alva was alarmed at

[n] Camden, p. 443.

the danger; and, ſtopping thoſe bloody executions which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he haſtened with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials ſo well prepared for combuſtion, ſeemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire, and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery,

CHAP. XL. as well as discipline, of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general.

1579. THE revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. Though the present greatness of the Spanish monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he still flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with assistance from neighbouring states; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmost extremities of war. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Harlem; a defence which nothing but the most consuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants [o]. This extreme severity, instead of striking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, showed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent counsels, solicited to be recalled: Medina-celi, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government: Requesens, commendator of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574;

[o] Bentivoglio, lib. 7.

leaving

leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting, in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner[p]. CHAP. XL. 1579.

REQUESENS, though a man of milder dispositions, could not appease the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive them from the enterprise; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this repulse, the governor still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was resolved to sue for foreign succour, and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the same spirit of tyranny and persecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domestic dissensions, seemed not to enjoy, at present, either leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by sympathy in religion, seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as Elizabeth had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or

p Grotius, lib. ii.

her

CHAP. XL. 1579. her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent therefore a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence.

There were many strong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of so liberal an offer. She was apprised of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland[q]: She foresaw the danger which she must incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: And the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princess, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards in honour abandon them, but, however desperate their defence might become, she must embrace it, even farther than her convenience or interests would permit. For these reasons, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shewn her, she would en-

q Digges, p. 73.

deavour

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deavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained [r]. She sent accordingly sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities.

[r] Camden, p. 453, 454.

BUT

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But it was not eafy to fettle entire peace, while the thirft of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were fo ftrongly agitated with refentment of paft, and fear of future, injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appeafe the quarrel; and as he found the States determined to impofe very ftrict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, feized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spanifh army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the profperous fucceffes of his youth, had opened his mind to vaft undertakings; and looking much beyond the conqueft of the revolted provinces, had projected to efpoufe the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the Britifh kingdoms[s]. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and feeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair profpect of their making a long and vigorous defence againft Spain, fhe no longer fcrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which feemed fo intimately connected with her own fafety. After fending them a fum of money, about twenty thoufand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, fhe concluded a treaty with them; in which fhe ftipulated to affift them with five thoufand foot and a thoufand horfe, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thoufand pounds, on receiving the bonds of fome of the moft confiderable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the Englifh army fhould be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previoufly informing the queen or him of it; that they fhould enter into no league without her confent;

[s] Camden, p. 466. Grotius, lib. iii.

that

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that if any difcord arofe among themfelves, it fhould be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, fhould attempt hoftilities againft her, they fhould fend to her affiftance an army equal to that which fhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was figned on the 7th of January 1578 [t].

ONE confiderable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States was, to prevent their throwing themfelves into the arms of France; and fhe was defirous to make the king of Spain believe that it was her fole motive. She reprefented to him, by her ambaffador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto fhe had religioufly acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refufed the fovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advifed the prince of Orange to fubmit to the king; and had even accompanied her counfel with menaces, in cafe of his refufal. She perfevered, fhe faid, in the fame friendly intentions; and as a proof of it, would venture to interpofe with her advice for the compofure of the prefent differences: Let Don John, whom fhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let fome other prince more popular be fubftituted in his room; let the Spanifh armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be reftored to their ancient liberties and privileges: And if, after thefe conceffions, they were ftill obftinate not to return to their duty, fhe promifed to join her arms with thofe of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip diffembled his refentment againft the queen; and ftill continued to fupply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulfed at Rimenant by the valour of the Englifh under Norris, and though oppofed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Cafimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen,

[t] Camden, p. 466.

gained

CHAP. XL. 1579. gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma succeeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negotiation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During these years, while Europe was almost every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland, she had twice given them the superiority over their antagonists, had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter whence the most dangerous invasions could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Guises, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partisans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their restless and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same bigotry had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely soon to subdue. The queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partisans in England.

Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and

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and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: She imposed no oath of supremacy, exept on those who received trust or emolument from the public: And though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at [u]; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, shewed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partisans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequenting of protestant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics [w]. These practices, with the rebellion which ensued, encreased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution.

The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a more unreasonable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention.

[u] Camden, p. 459. [w] Walsingham's Letter in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 418. Cabala, p. 406.

Some

CHAP. XL. 1579. Some ſecret attempts of that ſect to eſtabliſh a ſeparate congregation and diſcipline had been carefully repreſſed in the beginning of this reign [x]; and when any of the eſtabliſhed clergy diſcovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had ſhewn a determined reſolution to puniſh them by fines and deprivation [y]; though her orders to that purpoſe had been frequently eluded, by the ſecret protection which theſe ſectaries received from ſome of her moſt conſiderable courtiers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her ſubjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried ſometimes to an extreme, led her not to amaſs treaſures, but only to prevent impoſitions upon her people, who were at that time very little accuſtomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid œconomy, ſhe paid all the debts which ſhe found on the crown, with their full intereſt; though ſome of theſe debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father [z]. Some loans, which ſhe had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age ſomewhat unuſual [a]: And ſhe eſtabliſhed her credit on ſuch a footing, that no ſovereign in Europe could more readily command any ſum, which the public exigencies might at any time require [b]. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furniſhes few materials for hiſtory; and except the ſmall part which Elizabeth took in foreign tranſactions, there ſcarcely paſſed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

A parliament. The moſt memorable event in this period was a ſeſſion of parliament, held on the 8th of February 1576; where debates were ſtarted, which may ap-

x Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342. Ibid. Life of Grindal, p. 315.
y Heylin, p. 165, 166. z D'Ewes, p. 245. Camden, p. 446.
a D'Ewes, p. 246. b Ibid. p. 245.

pear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his free and undaunted spirit, opened this session with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the house, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers. As it seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty which happily gained afterwards the ascendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He premised, that the very name of liberty is sweet; but the thing itself is precious beyond the most inestimable treasure: And that it behoved them to be careful, lest, contenting themselves with the sweetness of the name, they forego the substance, and abandon what of all earthly possessions was of the highest value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to observe, that freedom of speech in that house, a privilege so useful both to sovereign and subject, had been formerly infringed in many essential articles, and was at present exposed to the most imminent danger: That it was usual, when any subject of importance was handled, especially if it regarded religion, to surmise, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: That Solomon had justly affirmed the king's displeasure to be a messenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conscience and duty, should be inclined to stop short, when they found themselves exposed to so severe a penalty: That, by the employing of this argument, the house was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen herself; whose ears, besieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inaccessible to the most salutary truths: That it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without

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which it muſt degenerate into an abject ſchool of ſervility and diſſimulation: That, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to diſcharge their truſt, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themſelves derive their being: That a king was conſtituted ſuch by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he ſubordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their preſcriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: That even his commiſſion, as God's vicegerent, enforced, inſtead of looſening, this obligation; ſince he was thereby inveſted with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and juſtice: That though theſe ſurmiſes of diſpleaſing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very eſſential point, all freedom of ſpeech, a privilege granted them by a ſpecial law; yet was there a more expreſs and more dangerous invaſion made on their liberties, by frequent meſſages from the throne: That it had become a practice, when the houſe was entering on any queſtion, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them abſolutely from treating of ſuch matters, and debarring them from all farther diſcuſſion of theſe momentous articles: That the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had aſſumed a deciſive power in all queſtions of religion, and required that every one ſhould implicitly ſubmit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: That the love which he bore his ſovereign, forbade him to be ſilent under ſuch abuſes, or to ſacrifice, on this important occaſion, his duty to ſervile flattery and complaiſance: And that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, ſo neither was the queen herſelf; but, in impoſing this ſervitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault againſt herſelf and the whole commonwealth [c].

[c] D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, &c.

It

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It is easy to observe, from this speech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary stile was still crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking ministers and counsellors, without interesting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the person of the sovereign, was not yet entirely established. The commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence: They sequestered Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and, wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them and answer for his behaviour. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house [d]. He justified his liberty of speech, by pleading the rigour and hardship of the queen's messages; and notwithstanding that the committee shewed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty, and to his place in the house [e]. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly retained the power which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer

[d] D'Ewes, p. 241. [e] Ibid. p. 244.

 before

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before her for their conduct in parliament. And sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her majesty's goodness in so gently remitting the indignation which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: But he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indiscreet freedoms used in that house had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity [f].

The behaviour of the two houses was, in every other respect, equally tame and submissive. Instead of a bill, which was at first introduced [g], for the reformation of the church, they were contented to present a petition to her majesty for that purpose: And when she told them that she would give orders to her bishops to amend all abuses, and if they were negligent, she would herself, by her supreme power and authority over the church, give such redress as would entirely satisfy the nation; the parliament willingly acquiesced in this sovereign and peremptory decision [h].

Though the commons shewed so little spirit in opposing the authority of the crown, they maintained, this session, their dignity against an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference which, they thought, was demanded of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleness (such is their expression), the superiority of the lords: They only refused to give that house any reason for their proceedings; and asserted, that where they altered a bill sent them by the peers, it belonged to them to desire a conference, not to the upper house to require it [i].

[f] D'Ewes, p. 259. [g] Ibid. p. 252. [h] Ibid. p. 257. [i] Ibid. p. 263.

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THE commons granted an aid of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to ſatisfy the houſe concerning the reaſonableneſs of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's paſt expences in ſupporting the government, and of the encreaſing charges of the crown, from the daily encreaſe in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admoniſh them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condeſcenſion, ſince ſhe was not bound to give them any account how ſhe employed her treaſure [k].

[k] D'Ewes, p. 246.

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Affairs of Scotland——Spanish affairs——Sir Francis Drake——A parliament——Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou——Affairs of Scotland——Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth——Conspiracies in England——A parliament——The ecclesiastical commission——Affairs of the Low Countries——Hostilities with Spain.

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THE greatest and most absolute security that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the scene began now to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom: But it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and control. The nobility began anew to break into factions: The people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice: And the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and encreased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and, having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission

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miſſion which he ſeemed ſo frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having ſecured himſelf, as he imagined, by a general pardon, reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and ſeemed to employ himſelf entirely in the care of his domeſtic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared inſipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off diſſimulation, he came again to court; acquired an aſcendant in the council; and though he reſumed not the title of regent, governed with the ſame authority as before. The oppoſite party, after holding ſeparate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and reſtoring him to the free exerciſe of his government: Queen Elizabeth interpoſed by her ambaſſador, ſir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant; and his authority ſeemed to become every day more precarious.

The count d'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lenox, couſin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good addreſs and a ſweet diſpoſition, he appeared to the duke of Guiſe a proper inſtrument for detaching James from the Engliſh intereſt, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no ſooner appeared at Stirling, where James reſided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his intereſt with thoſe of James Stuart of the houſe of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himſelf, under the appearance of play and amuſement, in inſtilling into the tender mind of the prince new ſentiments of politics and government. He re-

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presented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration [l]. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connections [m]. The king excused himself, by sir Alexander Hume, his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was farther confirmed in his intentions of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed that Bothwel had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder [n]. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be

[l] Digges, p. 412. 428. Melvil, p. 130. [m] Spotswood, p. 309. [n] Ibid, p. 314. Crawford, p. 333. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 54.

assembled

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aſſembled on the borders of England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution [o]. Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was leſs diſputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year.

Spaniſh affairs.

ELIZABETH was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both becauſe that country alone, not being ſeparated from England by ſea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a ſafe and eaſy method of attacking her; and becauſe ſhe was ſenſible, that Mary, thinking herſelf abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guiſes to have recourſe to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and ſuffered, more exaſperated againſt her. That he might retaliate the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had ſent, under the name of the pope [p], a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and diſcontented with the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spaniſh general, San Joſepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there beſieged by the earl of Ormond, preſident of Munſter, who was ſoon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After ſome aſſaults, feebly ſuſtained, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Gray, who commanded but a ſmall force, finding himſelf encumbered with ſo many priſoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians

o Spotſwood, p. 312. p Digges, p. 359. 370.

to

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to the ſword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Iriſh: A cruelty which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth[q].

Sir Francis Drake.

WHEN the Engliſh ambaſſador made complaints of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold ſeaman, who had aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the new world. This man, ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a ſight of the Pacific ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations[r]. By means of ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and ſixty-four able ſailors[s]. He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterpriſe, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the Globe; and the firſt commander in chief: For Magellan, whoſe ſhip

q Camden, p. 475. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 368.
r Camden, p. 478. Stowe, p. 689.
s Camden, p. 478. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730. 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46.

executed

executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage. His name became celebrated on account of ſo bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the reſentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to perſuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to diſavow the enterpriſe, to puniſh Drake, and to reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the proſpect of ſharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant ſailor: She conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambaſſador, Mendoza, exclaimed againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who ſhould ſail thither, even with a view of exerciſing the moſt lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into thoſe countries [t]. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, ſhe cauſed part of the booty to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had ſpoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had ſeized the money, and had employed part of it againſt herſelf in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, ſhe determined to make no more reſtitutions. (1580.)

THERE was another cauſe, which induced the queen to take this reſolution: She was in ſuch want of money, that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, a meaſure, which, as ſhe herſelf openly declared, ſhe never embraced, except when conſtrained by the neceſſity of her affairs. The parliament, beſides granting her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, enacted ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of her government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the (1581. 16th Jan. A parliament.)

t Camden, p. 480.

catholics.

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catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; to ſay maſs was ſubjected to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being preſent was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment, and a fine of one hundred marks: A fine of twenty pounds a month was impoſed on every one who continued, during that time, abſent from church[u]. To utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony: The writing or printing of ſuch words was felony even on the firſt offence[w]. The puritans prevailed ſo far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion[x]: And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion, moved, That the commons, from their own authority, ſhould appoint a general faſt and prayers: A motion, to which the houſe unwarily aſſented. For this preſumption, they were ſeverely reprimanded by a meſſage from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and ſupremacy; and they were obliged to ſubmit, and aſk forgiveneſs[y].

THE queen and parliament were engaged to paſs theſe ſevere laws againſt the catholics, by ſome late diſcoveries of the treaſonable practices of their prieſts. When the ancient worſhip was ſuppreſſed, and the reformation introduced into the univerſities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as ſome ſpecies of literature was neceſſary for ſupporting theſe doctrines and controverſies, the Romiſh communion muſt decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the eccleſiaſtics; and for this reaſon, he founded a ſeminary at Douay, where the catholics ſent their children, chiefly ſuch as were intended for the

u 23 Eliz. cap. 1.
w Ibid. cap. 2.
x D'Ewes, p. 302.
y Ibid. p. 284, 285.

prieſthood,

priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown° of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen, whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematised by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines.

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THESE seminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned, to oppose its dangerous progress. These men, as they stood foremost in the contest against the protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren: So that it is no wonder, if the blame,

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blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that, by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and, as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature), they were only the more enabled, by that acquisition, to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

The jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partisans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons,

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ſummons, to require it [z]. Campion was afterwards detected in treaſonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confeſſing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and proſecuted, with the greateſt appearance of ſucceſs, his marriage with the queen; and this ſeverity was probably intended to appeaſe her proteſtant ſubjects, and to ſatisfy them, that whatever meaſures ſhe might purſue, ſhe never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou.

THE duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretenſions to Elizabeth; and that princeſs, though her ſuitor was near twenty-five years younger than herſelf, and had no knowledge of her perſon, but by pictures or deſcriptions, was ſtill pleaſed with the image, which his addreſſes afforded her, of love and tenderneſs. The duke, in order to forward his ſuit, beſides employing his brother's ambaſſador, ſent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable converſation, who, ſoon remarking the queen's humour, amuſed her with gay diſcourſe, and inſtead of ſerious political reaſonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his maſter's intereſts, he introduced every moment all the topics of paſſion and of gallantry. The pleaſure which ſhe found in this man's company, ſoon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidſt the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, her moſt confidential miniſters had not ſuch ready acceſs to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter, who had never before been alarmed with any courtſhip payed her, and who always truſted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to

[z] Camden. p. 477.

marriage,

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marriage, began to apprehend, that ſhe was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the artful encouragement which ſhe had given to this young ſuitor had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himſelf of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports, that that miniſter had gained an aſcendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to diſcredit Leiceſter with the queen; and he revealed to her a ſecret, which none of her courtiers dared to diſcloſe, that this nobleman was ſecretly, without her conſent, married to the widow of the earl of Eſſex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of reſpect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which ſo provoked her, that ſhe threatened to ſend him to the Tower [a]. The quarrel went ſo far between Leiceſter and the French agent, that the former was ſuſpected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it neceſſary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and ſome of her courtiers, a ſhot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been diſcharged by accident, gave the perſon his liberty, without farther puniſhment. So far was ſhe from entertaining any ſuſpicion againſt her people, that ſhe was often heard to ſay, "That ſhe would lend credit to nothing "againſt them, which parents would not believe of "their own children [b]."

THE duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts ſent him of the queen's prepoſſeſſions in his favour, paid her ſecretly a viſit at Greenwich; and after ſome con-

a Camden, p. 471. b Idem ibid.

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ference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had loſt no ground by being perſonally known to her; and ſoon after, ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of King, but the adminiſtration remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England [b].

These articles, providing for the ſecurity of England, in caſe of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a diſmal proſpect to the Engliſh; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehenſions of this nature. The queen alſo, as a proof of her ſtill remaining uncertainty,

[b] Camden, p. 484.

 added

CHAP. XLI. 1581. added a clauſe, that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not ſpecified, ſhould be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen ſent over Walſingham, as ambaſſador to France, in order to form cloſer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the increaſing power and dangerous uſurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely diſturbed with the unquiet ſpirit, the reſtleſs ambition, the enterpriſing, yet timid and inconſtant diſpoſition of Anjou, had already ſought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a ſcene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had ſecretly ſupplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The proſpect of ſettling him in England, was for a like reaſon very agreeable to that monarch; and he was deſirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable ſentiments which Elizabeth ſeemed to entertain towards him. But this princeſs, though ſhe had gone farther in her amorous [c] dalliance than could be juſtified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final concluſion; and ſhe confined Walſingham in his inſtructions to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England [d]. Henry with reluctance ſubmitted to hold conferences on that ſubject; but no ſooner had Walſingham begun to ſettle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, foreſeeing hoſtility with Spain to be the reſult of this confederacy, had declared that ſhe would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage [e]. The French court, pleaſed with this change of reſolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a

c Digges, p. 387. 396. 408. 426.

d Ibid. p. 352.

e Ibid. p. 375. 591.

negotia-

negotiation for the marriage[f]. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution[g]; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate[h].

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In the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new contest between her reason and her ruling passions. The duke of Anjou expected from her some money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herself, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was sensible that this supply was necessary; and she was at last induced, after much hesitation, to comply with his request[i]. She sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her husband. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coro- Nov. 17.

[f] Digges, p. 392. [g] Ibid, p. 408. [h] See note [Q] at the end of the volume. [i] Digges, p. 357. 387, 388. 409. 426. 439. Rymer, xv. p. 793.

 nation,

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nation, ſhe was ſeen, after long and intimate diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the ſpectators concluded, that in this ceremony ſhe had given him a promiſe of marriage, and was even deſirous of ſignifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambaſſador from the States, diſpatched immediately a letter to his maſters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, teſtified their joy by bonfires and the diſcharge of their great ordnance[k]. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a paſſionate book, which he intitled, "The Gulph in "which England will be ſwallowed by the French "Marriage." He was apprehended and proſecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to loſe his right hand as a libeller. Such was the conſtancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the ſentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God ſave the queen!"

But notwithſtanding this attachment which Elizabeth ſo openly diſcovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her ſentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rouſing itſelf by intervals, ſtill filled her breaſt with doubt and heſitation. Almoſt all the courtiers whom ſhe truſted and favoured, Leiceſter, Hatton, and Walſingham, diſcovered an extreme averſion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bed-chamber made no ſcruple of oppoſing her reſolution with the moſt zealous remonſtrances[l]. Among other enemies to the match, ſir Philip, ſon of ſir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leiceſter, a young man the moſt accompliſhed of the age, declared himſelf: And he uſed the freedom to write her a

[k] Camden, p. 486. Thuan. lib. 74. [l] Camden, p. 486.

letter,

1581.

letter, in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution, with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning. He told her, that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects; and ſhe could not, by any meaſure, more effectually diſguſt them, than by eſpouſing a prince who was ſon of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himſelf imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceleſs proteſtants: That the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that ſhe had originally uſurped the crown, or was now lawfully depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever ſo much elevated their hopes as the proſpect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: That her chief ſecurity at preſent againſt the efforts of ſo numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they poſſeſſed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterpriſes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying that defect, by giving an intereſt in the kingdom to a prince whoſe education had zealouſly attached him to that communion: That though he was a ſtranger to the blood royal of England, the diſpoſitions of men were now ſuch that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by ſympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: That the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his ſovereign, there remained no hopes that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman whom he might in quality of huſband think himſelf entitled to command: That the French nation, ſo populous, ſo much abounding in ſoldiers, ſo full of nobility who were devoted to arms, and for ſome time accuſtomed to ſerve for plunder, would ſupply him with partiſans dangerous to a people unwarlike and de-

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CHAP. XLI. 1581.

fenceless like the generality of her subjects: That the plain and honourable path which she had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her: That so long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his posterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: That the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove that the affection and confidence of the English could never be maintained where they had such reason to apprehend that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation: That notwithstanding these great inconveniencies, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and what was of chief moment, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: And that however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of all the protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies [m].

THESE reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution; and she was observed to pass several

[m] Letters of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 287, & seq. Cabala, p. 363.

nights

nights without any ſleep or repoſe. At laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long conference with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expreſſed great diſguſt on his leaving her; threw away the ring which ſhe had given him; and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women, and of iſlanders [n]. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; loſt the confidence of the States by a raſh and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, ſaved herſelf from the numerous miſchiefs which muſt have attended ſo imprudent a marriage: And the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that reſentment which ſhe had reaſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE anxiety of the queen from the attempts of the Engliſh catholics never ceaſed during the whole courſe of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the ſource ſometimes of her hopes, ſometimes of her apprehenſions. This year the affairs of Scotland ſtrongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now aſſumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a ſlender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles and all the preachers were ſo much diſcontented with their adminiſtration. The aſſembly of the church appointed a ſolemn faſt; of which one of the avowed reaſons was the danger to which the king was expoſed from the company of wicked perſons [o]: And on that day the pulpits reſounded with declamations

[n] Camden, p. 486. [o] Spotſwood, p. 319.

 againſt

CHAP. XLI. 1582. against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry's; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. (August 23.) The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: Better that boys weep "than bearded men:" An expression which James could never afterwards forgive[p]. But notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The assembly, though they had established it as an inviolable rule, that the king on no account and under no pretence should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man who should oppose the authority of the confederated lords[q]. The convention being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their

[p] Spotswood, p. 320. [q] Ibid. p. 322.

sanc-

sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed[r], chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and to his last moments never forgot the early friendship which he had borne their father: A strong proof of the good dispositions of that prince[s]. CHAP. XLI. 1582.

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen sent sir Henry Cary and sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who ever since Morton's fall had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recal of Angus; and as James suspected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, 1583. appeared as ambassadors from France: Their errand was to inquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great

[r] Heylin's Hist. Presbyter. p. 227. Spotswood.
[s] Spotswood, p. 328.

umbrage

CHAP. XLI. 1583.

umbrage to the clergy; and the aſſembly voted the ſettling of terms between the mother and ſon to be a moſt wicked undertaking. The pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the French ambaſſadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the meſſenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guiſe: And as that miniſter, being knight of the Holy Ghoſt, wore a white croſs on his ſhoulder, they commonly denominated it in contempt the badge of Antichriſt. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repreſs theſe inſolent reflections; but in order to make the ambaſſadors ſome compenſation, he deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to give them a ſplendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public faſt; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their ſermons in thundering curſes on the magiſtrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of reſpect on the ambaſſadors. They even purſued them afterwards with the cenſures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from iſſuing the ſentence of excommunication againſt them, on account of their ſubmiſſion to royal, preferably to clerical, authority [t].

WHAT increaſed their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the Engliſh ambaſſadors ſeemed to concur with the French in this propoſal; and the clergy were ſo ignorant as to believe the ſincerity of the profeſſions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, ſhe wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more ſpirited ſtrain than uſual; craving the aſſiſtance of that

Letter of Mary to Elizabeth.

[t] Spotſwood, p. 324.

princeſs

princefs both for her own and her fon's liberty. She faid, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her moft tender concern; and the experience which fhe herfelf, during fo many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that fituation, had made her the more apprehenfive left a like fate fhould purfue her unhappy offspring: That the long train of injuftice which fhe had undergone, the calumnies to which fhe had been expofed, were fo grievous, that finding no place for right or truth among men, fhe was reduced to make her laft appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurifdiction, degree, and dignity: That after her rebellious fubjects, fecretly inftigated by Elizabeth's minifters, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prifon, had purfued her with arms, fhe had voluntarily thrown herfelf under the protection of England; fatally allured by thofe reiterated profeffions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generofity of a friend, an ally, and a kinfwoman: That, not content with excluding her from her prefence, with fupporting the ufurpers of her throne, with contributing to the deftruction of her faithful fubjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worfe captivity than that from which fhe had efcaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which fhe had repofed in her: That though her refentment of fuch fevere ufage had never carried her farther than to ufe fome difappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herfelf, and fatal to others, fhe found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to fuch a height that it furpaffed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: That fhe was cut off from all communication, not only with the reft of mankind, but with her only fon; and her maternal fondnefs, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy fympathy in fituation,

CHAP. XLI. 1583.

ſituation, and was her ſole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy ſolace which letters or meſſages could give: That the bitterneſs of her ſorrows, ſtill more than her cloſe confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the inſufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all thoſe other calamities under which ſhe laboured: That while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable proſpect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and ſorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that laſt conſolation; and having ſecluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal exiſtence: That the exerciſe of her religion was refuſed her; the uſe of thoſe ſacred rites in which ſhe had been educated; the commerce with thoſe holy miniſters whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our tranſgreſſions, and to ſeal our penitence by a ſolemn re-admiſſion into heavenly favour and forgiveneſs: That it was in vain to complain of the rigours of perſecution exerciſed in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the moſt barbarous countries, had been denied to the meaneſt and moſt obnoxious malefactor: That could ſhe ever be induced to deſcend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which ſhe would appeal from all her enemies; to the juſtice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breaſt, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counſel, ſhe would naturally be induced to exerciſe towards her: And that ſhe finally entreated her to reſume her natural diſpoſition, and to reflect on the ſupport, as well as comfort, which ſhe might receive from her ſon and herſelf, if, joining the obligations of grati-

tude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled[u]. CHAP. XLI. 1583.

ELIZABETH was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princess recovered any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and connexions both domestic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after suppressing the protestant party among her subjects, to revive those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms still supported with great industry and assurance. If she were reinstated in power with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be disgusted with her situation; and flying abroad, form more desperate attempts than any sovereign who had a crown to hazard would willingly undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficulties, and convinced by experience that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wishes; and as age and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of ambition by which she had formerly been so much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her hopes of grandeur in order to obtain a little liberty; a blessing to which she naturally aspired with the fondest impatience. She proposed therefore, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him: And she was content to live in England in a private station, and even under a kind of restraint; but with some more liberty, both for exercise and company, than she had enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with

[u] Camden, p. 489.

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the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid lest such a loose method of guarding her would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or at least would encourage and encrease her partisans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen[w]: At present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture from this circumstance what would be the result of the pretended negotiation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some loose proposals for that purpose[x].

THE affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found them-

w Jebb, vol. ii. p. 540. x MS. in the Advocates' Library. A. 3. 28. p. 401. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9.

selv

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1583.

ſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgment of their fault in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their reſiſtance they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate[y].

Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which ſhe quoted a moral ſentence from Iſocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconſtancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, juſtified his meaſures; and retaliated by turning two paſſages of Iſocrates againſt *her*[z]. She next ſent Walſingham in an embaſſy to him; and her chief purpoſe in employing that aged miniſter in an errand where ſo little buſineſs was to be tranſacted, was to learn from a man of ſo much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince poſſeſſed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and induſtry which his ſtation required; and as he excelled in general diſcourſe and converſation, Walſingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real buſineſs was tranſacted, to have fully merited[a]. The account which he gave his miſtreſs induced her to treat James thenceforth with ſome more regard than ſhe had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

y Spotſwood, p. 325, 326, & ſeq.
z Melvil, p. 140, 141. Strype, vol. iii. p. 165.
a Melvil, p. 148. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 530.

THE

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

The king of Scots perſevering in his preſent views, ſummoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman ſhould preſume in his ſermons to utter falſe, untrue, or ſcandalous ſpeeches againſt the king, the council, or the public meaſures, or to meddle in an improper manner with the affairs of his majeſty and the ſtates[b]. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a ſanctuary for them, were extremely offended: They ſaid that the king was become popiſh in his heart; and they gave their adverſaries the epithets of groſs libertines, belly gods, and infamous perſons[c]. The violent conduct of Arran ſoon brought over the popularity to their ſide. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to priſon, was tried on ſome new accuſations, condemned and executed. Many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyrranny of this favourite; and the baniſhed lords being aſſiſted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their eſtates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's preſence, were pardoned and reſtored to his favour.

Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that eſtate and title which he had uſurped; and the whole country ſeemed to be compoſed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after oppoſing, during ſome time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall to compound all differences with him by means of Daviſon, a miniſter whom ſhe ſent to Scotland: But having more confidence in the lords whom ſhe had helped to reſtore, ſhe was pleaſed with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correſpondence with the new court and miniſtry of James.

b Spotſwood, p. 333. c Ibid. p. 334.

THESE

CHAP. XLI.

1584.

Conspiracies in England.

These revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of ſmall importance to the repoſe and ſecurity of Elizabeth, had her own ſubjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by conſtraint more properly than perſecution, daily threatened her with ſome dangerous inſurrection. The vigilance of the miniſters, particularly of Burleigh and Walſingham, was raiſed in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts, which had been blamable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conſpiracies, and even diſcovering the ſecret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the Engliſh exiles, and privately conveyed to the houſes of the catholics: Spies were hired to obſerve the actions and diſcourſe of ſuſpected perſons: Informers were countenanced: And though the ſagacity of theſe two great miniſters helped them to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the ſubjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmoſt anxiety aud inquietude. Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid, and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted

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this conspiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain, to excuse his dismission, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place: But Philip would not so much as admit the English ambassador to his presence. Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pierced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets[d].

MANY of these conspiracies were, with great appearance of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots[e]; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise: And she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion or for whose behoof any violence should be offered to her majesty[f]. The queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove

[d] Camden, p. 499. [e] Strype, vol. iii. p. 246.
[f] State Trials, vol. i, p. 122, 123.

all suspicion from herself, she also desired leave to subscribe it. CHAP. XLI.

ELIZABETH, that she might the more discourage malcontents, by shewing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament; and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association was confirmed by parliament; and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her: Upon condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct. And for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason [g]. 1584. 23d Nov. A parliament.

A SEVERE law was also enacted against jesuits and popish priests: It was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void [h]. By this law the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the

[g] 27 Eliz. cap. 1. [h] Ibid. cap. 2.

CHAP. XLI. 1584. subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason[i]. The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the commons for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the house were puritans, or inclined to that sect[k]; but the severe reprimands which they had already in former sessions met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: They were

i Some even of those who defend the queen's measures allow, that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649.

k Besides the petition after mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the puritans among the commons was their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of those amusements which they were accustomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the upper house, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

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content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addreſſed to her majeſty, which would have given offence, but to the houſe of lords, or rather the biſhops, who had a ſeat in that houſe, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation [1]: A ſtrange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the commons!

THE commons deſired, in their humble petition, that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe his function of ordination but with the conſent and concurrence of ſix preſbyters: But this demand, as it really introduced a change of eccleſiaſtical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They deſired that no clergyman ſhould be inſtituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the pariſh, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: An attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the ſame fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed that the biſhops ſhould not inſiſt upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the ſervice: As if uniformity in public worſhip had not been eſtabliſhed by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a diſpenſing power. They complained of abuſes which prevailed in pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of ſome law for the remedy of theſe abuſes: Implying, that thoſe matters were too high for the commons or themſelves to attempt.

BUT the moſt material article which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a ſubject of ſuch importance as to merit ſome explanation.

[1] D'Ewes, p. 357.

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1584. The ecclesiastical court.

The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the non-conforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophesyings*, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the Star Chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority[m]. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered

[m] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.

to

to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: And the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious princess; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign

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sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason could limit and determine.

But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs, which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed *by God* supreme ruler over it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission and negligence: That some abuses must necessarily have place in every thing; but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she was fully determined to depose them: That she was commonly supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical (by which I suppose she meant theological), and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: That as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, and the just mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern sectaries: And that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and under colour of preaching

preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince [n].

From the whole of this transaction we may observe, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners [o].

During this session of parliament there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a Jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio Campeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other catholic priests told him that

[n] See note [R] at the end of the volume.

[o] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 292. 386. 400.

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ſolved, if they could not make their eſcape, to ſacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty ſo agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all queſtion; and that criminal, having received ſentence of death [p], ſuffered the puniſhment which the law appointed for his treaſonable conſpiracy [q].

THESE bloody deſigns now appeared every where as the reſult of that bigoted ſpirit by which the two religions, eſpecially the catholic, were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwic, ſomewhat diſordered in his underſtanding, had heard ſo much of the merit attending the aſſaſſination of heretics and perſecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his deſign by ſome extravagances. he was thrown into priſon, and there periſhed by a voluntary death [r]. About the ſame time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the ſame deſign againſt the prince of Orange; and that great man periſhed at Delft, by the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, who, with a reſolution worthy of a better cauſe, ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regardad that prince

The affairs of the Low Countries.

p State Trials, vol. i. p. 103, & ſeq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 255, & ſeq.
q See note [S] at the end of the volume.
r Camden, p. 495.

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1585. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to restore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the king of Navarre, a professed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life; the catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the hugonots, and to put

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put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprises of Philip.

THE States, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which she should hold in this critical and important emergence. Some advised her to reject the offer of the States, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns, and any encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: That though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: That the queen, in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as labouring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him these provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: That her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon

CHAP. XLI. 1585. upon her; and ſhe muſt thenceforth expect that, inſtead of ſecretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: That the pope would undoubtedly unite his ſpiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: And that the queen would ſoon repent her making ſo precarious an acquiſition in foreign countries, by expoſing her own dominions to the moſt imminent danger[s].

OTHER counſellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They aſſerted, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at preſent, the choice whether ſhe would embrace friendſhip or hoſtility with Philip: That by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct it appeared, that his ſole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire ſubjection of the proteſtants, under the ſpecious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: That the provocations which ſhe had already given him, joined to his general ſcheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as ſoon as he had ſubdued his revolted ſubjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceleſs ſtate: That the only queſtion was, whether ſhe would maintain a war abroad, and ſupported by allies, or wait till the ſubjection of all the confederates of England ſhould give her enemies leiſure to begin their hoſtilities in the bowels of the kingdom: That the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, poſſeſſed ſtill conſiderable force; and by the aſſiſtance of England, by the advantages of their ſituation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might ſtill be enabled to maintain the conteſt againſt the Spaniſh monarchy: That their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire ſecurity

[s] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

on

on the ſide from which alone ſhe could be aſſaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: That a war which was neceſſary could never be unjuſt; and ſelf-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a diſtance, as in repelling any immediate invaſion: And that, ſince hoſtility with Spain was the unavoidable conſequence of the preſent intereſts and ſituations of the two monarchies, it were better to compenſate that danger and loſs by the acquiſition of ſuch important provinces to the Engliſh empire[t].

Amidst theſe oppoſite counſels the queen, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending each extreme, was inclined to ſteer a middle courſe; and though ſuch conduct is ſeldom prudent, ſhe was not, in this reſolution, guided by any prejudice or miſtaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without oppoſition, the total ſubjection of the revolted provinces, whoſe intereſts ſhe deemed ſo cloſely connected with her own: But foreſeeing that the acceptance of their ſovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, imputations which hitherto ſhe had carefully avoided, ſhe immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: That ſhe ſhould ſend over an army to their aſſiſtance, of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded after the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and the Brille, with the caſtle of Ramme-

[t] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

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1585. THE queen knew that this meaſure would immediately engage her in open hoſtilities with Philip; yet was not ſhe terrified with the view of the preſent greatneſs of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and pupulous; and the late addition of Portugal, beſides ſecuring internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him maſter of many ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, and of the whole commerce of thoſe regions, and had much increaſed his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of ſubjection under him, and ſeemed to poſſeſs their ſovereignty on terms ſomewhat precarious. The Auſtrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was cloſely connected with him, and was ready to ſupply him with troops for every enterpriſe. All the treaſures of the Weſt-Indies were in his poſſeſſion; and the preſent ſcarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extenſive. The Netherlands ſeemed on the point of relapſing into ſervitude; and ſmall hopes were entertained of their withſtanding thoſe numerous and veteran armies, which, under the command of the moſt experienced generals, he employed againſt them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Auſtrian greatneſs, had loſt all her force from inteſtine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were cloſely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, ſuch prepoſſeſſions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly

openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, ſcrupled not to ſay, that ſhe had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war [u]. Yet was this princeſs rather cautious than enterpriſing in her natural temper: She never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than reſtrained by the prudence, of her miniſters: But when ſhe ſaw an evident neceſſity, ſhe braved danger with magnanimous courage; and truſting to her own conſummate wiſdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, ſhe prepared herſelf to reſiſt and even to aſſault the whole force of the catholic monarch.

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THE earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland, at the head of the Engliſh auxiliary forces. He carried with him a ſplendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Eſſex, his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, ſir William Ruſſel, ſir Thomas Shirley, ſir Arthur Baſſet, ſir Walter Waller, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received on his arrival at Fluſhing by his nephew ſir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he paſſed expreſſed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's protection had brought them the moſt certain deliverance. The States, deſirous of engaging Elizabeth ſtill farther in their defence, and knowing the intereſt which Leiceſter poſſeſſed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in ſome reſpects as their ſovereign. But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was diſpleaſed with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of

[u] Camden, p. 508.

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Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, that after many humble submissions they were able to appease her.

Hostilities with Spain.

AMERICA was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The great success of the Spaniards and Portuguese in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies, is slow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprises. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies: Two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it; sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola; and easily making themselves masters of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are

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are founded; they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries, as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is usual, but a feeble restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of young adventurers [w]. It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

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THE enterprises of Leicester were much less successful than those of Drake. This man possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice she made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of friendship. He gained at first some advantage in an action against the Spaniards; and threw succours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: But the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all these efforts useless. He capitulated after a feeble resistance; and being tried for his conduct, suffered a capital punishment from the sentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the siege of Venlo, which was surrendered to him after some resistance. The fate of Nuys was more dismal; being taken by assault while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking

[w] Camden, p. 509.

CHAP. XLI. 1586. himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprise. He first attacked Doesburg, and succeeded: He then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he hastened to its relief. He made the marquess of Guesto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquess of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, *This man's necessity is still greater than mine:* And resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, struck with admiration

tion of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero. CHAP. XLI. 1586.

THE English, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were strongly possessed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. The States were much discontented with his management of the war; still more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England[x].

THE queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake without reserve of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a

x Camden, p. 512. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

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youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambaſſador in France during the reign of Mary, to enſnare the conſtable, Montmorency; and had not his purpoſe been fruſtrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged miniſter. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he ſhould gain an aſcendant over a young prince of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James; eſpecially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleaſures of the king; made himſelf maſter of his ſecrets; and had ſo much the more authority with him in political tranſactions, as he did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention to theſe matters. The Scottiſh miniſters, who obſerved the growing intereſt of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendſhip; and ſcrupled not to ſacrifice to his intrigues the moſt eſſential intereſts of their maſter. Elizabeth's uſual jealouſies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled againſt James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, ſhe was apprehenſive leſt, by being ſtrengthened with children and alliances, he ſhould acquire the greater intereſt and authority with her Engliſh ſubjects. She directed Wotton to form a ſecret concert with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, and to procure their promiſe that James, during three years, ſhould not on any account be permitted to marry. In conſequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding reſtitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a propoſal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is ſaid to have employed his intrigues to purpoſes ſtill more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents,

to

to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have been sure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king[y]. CHAP. XLI. 1586.

JAMES's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased[z]. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated, that if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned[a].

BY this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring

[y] Melvil. [z] Spotswood, p. 351. [a] Ibid. p. 349. Camden, p. 513. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 803.

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the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new disorder; so much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by false opinion, is not restrained by any rules of morality, and is even scarcely to be accounted for in its operations by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The insolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had at this time reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons[b]: Nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife Jezebel had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender: And for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race[c].

The secretary Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses: For that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them

[b] Spotswood, p. 345, 346. [c] Ibid. p. 344.

out

out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I purposed to undo the church and religion, "your counsel were good: But my intention is to "maintain both; therefore cannot I suffer the "clergy to follow such a conduct, as will in the "end bring religion into contempt and derision [d]."

[d] Spotswood, p. 348.

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Zeal of the catholics——Babington's conspiracy—— Mary assents to the conspiracy——The conspirators seized and executed——Resolution to try the queen of Scots——The commissioners prevail on her to submit to the trial——The trial——Sentence against Mary——Interposition of king James—— Reasons for the execution of Mary——The execution——Mary's character——The queen's affected sorrow——Drake destroys the Spanish fleet at Cadiz ——Philip projects the invasion of England—— The invincible Armada——Preparations in England——The armada arrives in the channel—— Defeated——A parliament——Expedition against Portugal——Affairs of Scotland.

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THE dangers which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: Resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprises which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: The rigour and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen [e], still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge [f], and her high spirit,

[e] Digges, p. 139. Haynes, p. 607.
[f] See note [T] at the end of the volume.

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concurred with religious zeal, and the ſuggeſtions of deſperate bigots, ſhe was at laſt engaged in deſigns which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reaſon for effecting her final ruin.

Zeal of the catholics.

THE Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims had wrought themſelves up to a high pitch of rage and animoſity againſt the queen. The recent perſecutions from which they had eſcaped; the new rigours which they knew awaited them in the courſe of their miſſions; the liberty which for the preſent they enjoyed of declaiming againſt that princeſs; and the contagion of that religious fury which every where ſurrounded them in France: All theſe cauſes had obliterated with them every maxim of common ſenſe, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and depoſed the queen; and ſome of them had gone to that height of extravagance as to aſſert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghoſt. The aſſaſſination of heretical ſovereigns, and of that princeſs in particular, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious of all enterpriſes; and they taught that whoever periſhed in ſuch pious attempts enjoyed without diſpute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By ſuch doctrines they inſtigated John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, who had ſerved ſome years in the Low Countries under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this aſſaſſin having made a vow to perſevere in his deſign, was ſent over to England and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics.

ABOUT the ſame time, John Ballard, a prieſt of that ſeminary, had returned to Paris from his miſſion in England and Scotland; and as he had obſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among

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among the catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the ancient religion [g]. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this enterprise: The pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt against England: And Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic, and a devoted partisan of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained that so long as that princess was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any success from an enterprise upon England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: He came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue: And he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion [h].

Babington's conspiracy.

THE first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an exellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Being zealously devoted to the catholic communion, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroical virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded

[g] Murden's State Papers, p. 517.

[h] Camden, p. 515.

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mind of young Babington to make ſome attempt for her ſervice; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of thoſe dangers which attended any enterpriſe againſt the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well diſpoſed for their purpoſe, they ſent him back to England, and ſecretly, unknown to himſelf, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a perſon worth engaging in her ſervice. She wrote him a letter full of friendſhip and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that theſe advances now bound him in honour to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of that unfortunate princeſs. During ſome time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correſpondence; but after ſhe was put under the cuſtody of ſir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced ſo much difficulty and danger in rendering her this ſervice, that he had deſiſted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal ſuſpended, not extinguiſhed: His former ardour revived on the mention of any enterpriſe which ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs in the cauſe of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained ſentiments conformable to thoſe of Paget, and repreſented the folly of all attempts which, during the lifetime of Elizabeth, could be formed againſt the eſtabliſhed religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to diſcover to him the deſign undertaken by Savage[1]; and was well pleaſed to obſerve, that, inſtead of being ſhocked with the project, Babington only thought it not ſecure enough, when entruſted to one ſingle hand, and propoſed to join five others with Savage in this deſperate enterpriſe.

1 Camden, p. 515. State Trials, p. 114.

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In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichborne of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprise with any others[k]; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous ambition.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprise he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprise; but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of

[k] State Trials, vol. i. p. 111.

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Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate. That artful miniſter had engaged Maud, a catholic prieſt, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the deſigns entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his ſpies, had found means to inſinuate himſelf among the conſpirators in England; and though not entirely truſted, had obtained ſome inſight into their dangerous ſecrets. But the bottom of the conſpiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, came over, and made a tender of his ſervices to Walſingham. By his means the diſcovery became of the utmoſt importance, and involved the fate of Mary as well as of thoſe zealous partiſans of that princeſs.

Babington and his aſſociates, having laid ſuch a plan as they thought promiſed infallible ſucceſs, were impatient to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this ſervice they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walſingham, that the intereſt of that miniſter might forward his ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Walſingham propoſed the matter to Paulet, and deſired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his ſervants: But Paulet, averſe to the introducing of ſuch a pernicious precedent into his family, deſired that they would rather think of ſome other expedient. Gifford found a brewer who ſupplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thruſt through a chink in the wall; and anſwers were returned by the ſame conveyance.

Ballard and Babington were at firſt diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: But finding by the anſwers that theſe had been faithfully delivered, they laid aſide all farther ſcruple, and conveyed by his hands the moſt criminal and dangerous

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gerous parts of their conſpiracy. Babington informed Mary of the deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan of an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her deliverance, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper, by ſix noble gentlemen as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cauſe, and her majeſty's ſervice, would undertake the *tragical execution.* Mary replied, that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an inſurrection[1]. Theſe letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and ſir Francis Inglefield, were carried by Gifford to ſecretary Walſingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walſingham employed another artifice in order to obtain full inſight into the plot: He ſubjoined to a letter of Mary's a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher; in which he made her deſire Babington to inform her of the names of the conſpirators. The indiſcretion of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with ſtill another means of detection as well as of defence. That gentleman had cauſed a picture to be drawn, where he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins; and a motto was ſubjoined, expreſſing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and guard herſelf againſt their approach to her perſon.

Mary aſſents to the conſpiracy

MEANWHILE, Babington, anxious to enſure and haſten the foreign ſuccours, reſolved to diſpatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under

[1] State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

 a feigned

a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his royal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondnnce with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: Others proposed that Savage and Charnoc should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: But observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered, and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth.

The conspirators seized and executed.

 Fourteen

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Fourteen were condemned and executed: Of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

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The lesser conspirators being dispatched, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whose account and with whose concurrence these attempts had been made against the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors were averse to this procedure; and thought, that the close confinement of a woman who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give sufficient security to the government, without attempting a measure of which there scarcely remains any example in history. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly dispatched by poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action: But Walsingham declared his abhorrence of it; and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The situation of England, and of the English ministers, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No successor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the ministers, and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the safety of the public, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, knowing themselves to be so obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremities against her; and were even more anxious than the queen herself, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

THOUGH

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Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great ſurpriſe to her, when ſir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were diſcovered and arreſted. He choſe the time for giving her this intelligence when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; and ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the laſt ſtage of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arreſted: All her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council: Above ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered: There were alſo found many letters from perſons beyond ſea, and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, containing expreſſions of reſpect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, knowing their correſpondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots[m].

Resolution to try the queen of Scots.

It was reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſons, but by the act which had paſſed the former year with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay

[m] Camden, p. 518.

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In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not

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The commissioners prevail on her to submit to the trial.

not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh the treasurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reasoning to make her submit; but the person whose arguments had the chief influence was sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His speech was to this purpose: "You are accused, madam," said he, "but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of our lady and queen anointed. You say you are a queen: But in such a crime as this, and such a situation as yours, the royal dignity itself, neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your protestations of innocence: But queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise; and is heartily sorry for the appearances which lie against you. To examine, therefore, your cause, she has appointed commissioners; honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you can clear yourself of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my departure, that nothing which ever befel her had given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprises. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your obstinate silence on this occasion [n]."

[n] Camden, p. 523.

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By this artful ſpeech Mary was perſuaded to anſwer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented thoſe difficulties which the commiſſioners muſt have fallen into, had ſhe perſevered in maintaining ſo ſpecious a plea as that of her ſovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular muſt be regarded as the more imprudent; becauſe formerly, when Elizabeth's commiſſioners pretended not to exerciſe any juriſdiction over her, and only entered into her cauſe by her own conſent and approbation, ſhe declined juſtifying herſelf, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, ſeemed abſolutely to require it.

The trial.

On her firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, Mary, either ſenſible of her imprudence, or ſtill unwilling to degrade herſelf by ſubmitting to a trial, renewed her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges: The chancellor anſwered her by pleading the ſupreme authority of the Engliſh laws over every one who reſided in England: And the commiſſioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge againſt the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that ſhe had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that ſhe had kept a correſpondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary ſeemed not anxious to clear herſelf from either of theſe imputations. She only ſaid, that ſhe could not hinder others from uſing what ſtyle they pleaſed in writing to her; and that ſhe might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which ſhe promiſed to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if

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her ſon ſhould refuſe to be converted to the catholic faith, an event, ſhe there ſaid, of which there was no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottiſh ſubjects [o]. Even this part of the charge ſhe took no pains to deny, or rather ſhe ſeemed to acknowledge it. She ſaid, that ſhe had no kingdoms to diſpoſe of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleaſure what was her own, and ſhe was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that ſhe had formerly rejected that propoſal from Spain; but now, ſince all her hopes in England were gone, ſhe was fully determined not to refuſe foreign aſſiſtance. There was alſo produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parſons were at that very time negotiating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her Engliſh crown to the king of Spain, and of diſinheriting her heretical ſon [p].

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices againſt her ſon were at this time carried ſo far, that ſhe had even entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had inſtigated her adherents to ſeize James's perſon, and deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic [q].

The only part of the charge which Mary poſitively denied, was her concurrence in the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the moſt heavy, and the only one that could fully juſtify the queen in proceeding to extremities againſt her. In order to prove the accuſation, there were produced the following evidence: Copies taken in ſecretary Walſingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her appro-

o State Trials, vol. i. p. 138.
p See note [U] at the end of the volume.
q See note [X] at the end of the volume.

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bation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confeſſed, without being put to any torture, both that ſhe received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had written the anſwers by her order; the confeſſion of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the anſwers[q], and the confeſſion of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had ſhowed them theſe letters of Mary written in the cypher, which had been ſettled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumſtance corroborates the general concluſion, reſolves itſelf finally into the teſtimony of the two ſecretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their miſtreſs's concurrence in Babington's conſpiracy, but who knew themſelves expoſed to all the rigours of impriſonment, torture, and death, if they refuſed to give any evidence which might be required of them. In the caſe of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its diſadvantages, would be eſteemed legal, and even ſatisfactory, if not oppoſed by ſome other circumſtances which ſhake the credit of the witneſſes: But on the preſent trial, where the abſolute power of the proſecutor concurred with ſuch important intereſts, and ſuch a violent inclination to have the princeſs condemned; the teſtimony of two witneſſes, even though men of character, ought to be ſupported by ſtrong probabilities, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of tyranny and injuſtice. The proof againſt Mary, it muſt be confeſſed, is not deſtitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to account for Babington's receiving an anſwer, written in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princeſs. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has diſcovered every thing

[q] State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

which

which could guide our judgment with regard to it: No wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: Whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her positively affirming, that she never had had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question [r]. She asserted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited. She confessed, however, that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide. She also acknowledged Curle to be a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters, or had written any answers, without her knowledge, the imputation, she said, could never lie on her. And she was the more inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name, without communicating the matter to her [s]. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

THE sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and her affirming, that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then supported by law in trials of high treason, and was often refused, even in other trials where the crown was prosecutor. The clause, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the species of

r See note [Y] at the end of the volume.
s See note [Z] at the end of the volume.

 treason

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treaſon there enumerated muſt be proved by two witneſſes, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the miniſters and crown lawyers of this reign were always ſure to refuſe every indulgence beyond what the ſtrict letter of the law, and the ſettled practice of the courts of juſtice, required of them. Not to mention, that theſe ſecretaries were not probably at Fotheringay caſtle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commiſſioners [t].

THERE paſſed two incidents in this trial which may be worth obſerving. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: On hearing their names, ſhe broke into a ſigh: "Alas," ſaid ſhe, "what has the noble houſe of the Howards "ſuffered for my ſake?" She affirmed with regard to the ſame letter, that it was eaſy to forge the handwriting and cypher of another; ſhe was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walſingham, who, ſhe alſo heard, had frequently practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. Walſingham, who was one of the commiſſioners, roſe up. He proteſted, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing againſt the queen of Scots: In his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his ſovereign's ſafety had made him very diligent in ſearching out, by every expedient, all deſigns againſt her ſacred perſon or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make uſe of the aſſiſtance of Ballard or any other conſpirator; he would alſo reward them for betraying their companions. But

t Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpoſe to Burleigh and Walſingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only ſays, that ſhe thinks it needleſs, though ſhe was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witneſſes was not the reſult of deſign, but the practice of the age.

if

if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuse him of such practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him. The great character, indeed, which sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and honour, should remove from him all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subornation; arts which even the most corrupt ministers, in the most corrupt times, would scruple to employ.

25th Oct.

HAVING finished the trial, the commissioners adjourney from Fotheringay castle, and met in the Star Chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day, a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "that the sentence did no "wise derogate from the title and honour of James "king of Scotland; but that he was in the same "place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had "never been pronounced [u]."

Sentence against Mary.

THE queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; and had found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom from the beginning of her reign she had ever equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment, by several important considerations. She foresaw the invidious colours, in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be repre-

[u] Camden, p. 526.

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ſented by the numerous partiſans of Mary, and the reproach to which ſhe herſelf might be expoſed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all poſterity. The rights of hoſpitality, of kindred, and of royal majeſty, ſeemed, in one ſingle inſtance, to be all violated; and this ſacrifice of generoſity to intereſt, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a ſovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmoſt reluctance to proceed to the execution of the ſentence;[c] affected the moſt tender ſympathy wirh her priſoner; diſplayed all her ſcruples and difficulties; rejected the ſolicitation of her courtiers and miniſters; and affirmed, that were ſhe not moved by the deepeſt concern for her people's ſafety, ſhe would not heſitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which ſhe herſelf had received from the queen of Scots.

29th Oct.

THAT the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of juſtice upon Mary, ſhe ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe knew, both from the uſual diſpoſitions of that aſſembly, and from the influence of her miniſters over them, that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſolicitation to conſent to that meaſure, which was ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. She did not open this aſſembly in perſon, but appointed for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, Bromley the chancellor, Burleigh the treaſurer, and the earl of Derby. The reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure was, that the queen, foreſeeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvaſſed in parliament, found her tenderneſs and delicacy ſo much hurt by that melancholy incident, that ſhe had not the courage to be preſent while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what ſhe could not behold without the utmoſt reluctance and uneaſineſs. She was alſo willing, that by this unuſual precaution the people ſhould ſee the

the danger to which her perſon was hourly expoſed; and ſhould thence be more ſtrongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whoſe reſtleſs intrigues and bloody conſpiracies had ſo long expoſed her to the moſt imminent perils[x].

The parliament anſwered the queen's expectations. The ſentence againſt Mary was unanimouſly ratified by both houſes; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's conſent to its publication and execution[y]. She gave an anſwer ambiguous, embarraſſed; full of real artifice, and ſeeming irreſolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually expoſed; ſhe declared her willingneſs to die, did ſhe not foreſee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; ſhe made profeſſions of the greateſt tenderneſs to her people; ſhe diſplayed the clemency of her temper, and expreſſed her violent reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt her unhappy kinſwoman; ſhe affirmed, that the late law, by which that princeſs was tried, ſo far from being made to enſnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in ſuch attempts as might expoſe her to the penalties with which ſhe was thus openly menaced; and ſhe begged them to think once again, whether it were poſſible to find any expedient, beſides the death of the queen of Scots, for ſecuring the public tranquillity[z]. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under conſideration; but could find no other poſſible expedient. They reiterated their ſolicitations, and intreaties, and arguments: They even remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects and children: And they affirmed, that it were injuſtice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimouſly and earneſtly

x D'Ewes, p. 375. y Ibid. p. 379. z Ibid. p. 402, 403.

ſuing

CHAP. XLII. 1586. ſuing for this pledge of her paternal care and tenderneſs. This ſecond addreſs ſet the pretended doubts and ſcruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: She complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs from their importunity; renewed the profeſſions of affection to her people; and diſmiſſed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty, what, after all this deliberation, might be her final reſolution[a].

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt Mary, ſhe complied with the requeſt of parliament in publiſhing it by proclamation; and this act ſeemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurſt, and Beale clerk of the council, were ſent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by parliament, and the earneſt applications made for its execution by that aſſembly, who thought that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary was nowiſe diſmayed at this intelligence: On the contrary, ſhe joyfully laid hold of the laſt circumſtance mentioned to her; and inſiſted, that ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants for the eſtabliſhment of their faith, ſhe was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the Engliſh had often embrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereigns: No wonder they exerciſed cruelty againſt her, who derived her deſcent from theſe monarchs[b]. Paulet her keeper received orders to take down her canopy, and to ſerve her no longer with the reſpect due to ſovereign princes. He told her that ſhe was now to be conſidered as a dead perſon; and incapable of any dignity[c]. This harſh treatment produced

a See note [AA] at the end of the volume.
b Camden, p. 528.
c Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

not

not in her any feming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

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The queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: On the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, she said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requested that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution should be public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies which she

CHAP. XLII. 1586. ſhe ſhould bequeath them. And ſhe conjured her to grant theſe favours, by their near kindred; by the ſoul and memory of Henry VII. the common anceſtor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated[d]. Elizabeth made no anſwer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refuſal in her preſent ſituation, and foreſeeing inconveniencies from granting ſome of her requeſts.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herſelf to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt her. Beſides employing L'Aubeſpine, the French reſident at London, a creature of the houſe of Guiſe, Henry ſent over Bellievre, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guiſe and the league at that time threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himſelf obliged to interpoſe publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not ſecretly be much diſpleaſed with the death of a princeſs, on whoſe fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded ſo many daring and ambitious projects[e]. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonſtrances againſt the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his maſter's name, not to defer an act of juſtice, ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety[f]. But whether the French king's interceſſion were ſincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution.

Interpoſition of king James. The interpoſition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, ſeemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As

d Camden, p. 529. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295.
e Camden, p. 494.
f Du Maurier.

ſoon

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as ſoon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he ſent ſir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonſtrated in very ſevere terms againſt the indignity of the procedure. He ſaid, that he was aſtoniſhed to hear of the preſumption of Engliſh noblemen and counſellors, who had dared to ſit in judgment and paſs ſentence upon a queen of Scotland, deſcended from the blood-royal of England; but he was ſtill more aſtoniſhed to hear, that thoughts were ſeriouſly entertained of putting that ſentence in execution: That he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the diſhonour which ſhe would draw on her name by embruing her hands in the blood of her near kinſwoman, a perſon of the ſame royal dignity, and of the ſame ſex with herſelf: That in this unparalleled attempt ſhe offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own, and by reducing ſovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards thoſe whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: That for his part, he muſt deem the injury and inſult ſo enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it poſſible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correſpondence with a perſon who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: And that even if the ſentiments of nature and duty did not inſpire him with this purpoſe of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himſelf in the eyes of the world, if he did not uſe every effort and endure every hazard to revenge ſo great an indignity [z].

Soon after, James ſent the maſter of Gray and ſir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonſtrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expe-

[z] Spotſwood, p. 351.

CHAP. XLII. 1586. dient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary[h]. It is believed, that the master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

The queen also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in a full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it "might please God to illuminate Mary with the "light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churches by prayers for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion. James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his mother;

h Spotswood, p. 353.

and

and that he might at leaſt ſecure himſelf from any inſult in his own preſence, he deſired the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to diſappoint this purpoſe, the clergy inſtigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take poſſeſſion of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and ſaw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his ſeat, and told him, that the place was deſtined for another; yet ſince he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine ſervice. The preacher replied, that he would do as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him. This anſwer ſufficiently inſtructed James in his purpoſe; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper ſeemed not diſpoſed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, That this day would be a witneſs againſt the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner[i]. The audience at firſt appeared deſirous to take part with him; but the ſermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane diſpoſition.

Elizabeth, when ſolicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed always determined to execute the ſentence againſt her: But when her miniſters urged her to interpoſe no more delays, her ſcruples and her heſitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace ſuch violent and ſanguinary meaſures; and ſhe was touched with compaſſion for the miſfortunes, and with reſpect for the dignity, of the unhappy priſoner. The courtiers, ſenſible that they

[i] Spotſwood, p. 354.

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Reasons for the execution of Mary.

could do nothing more acceptable to her, than to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: That the obvious inconveniencies either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion: That her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants in considerable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would in time have been carried farther, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: That after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: That the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers [k]; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremities against her: That Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and un-

[k] Digges, p. 276. Strype, vol. ii. p. 48. 135, 136. 139.

conquerable

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conquerable a ſpirit, that ſhe acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partiſans every where, and in their very letters, addreſſed to herſelf, to treat her as queen of England: That ſhe had carried her animoſity ſo far as to encourage, in repeated inſtances, the atrocious deſign of aſſaſſinating the queen; and this crime was unqueſtionably proved upon her by her own letters, by the evidence of her ſecretaries, and by the dying confeſſion of her accomplices: That ſhe was but a titular queen, and at preſent poſſeſſed no where any right of ſovereignty; much leſs in England, where the moment ſhe ſet foot in the kingdom, ſhe voluntarily became ſubject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true ſovereign: That even allowing her to be ſtill the queen's equal in rank and dignity, ſelf-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, ſtill more a queen, had ſufficient juriſdiction over an enemy, who by open violence, and ſtill more, who by ſecret treachery, threatened the utmoſt danger againſt her life: That the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the proteſtants was no longer a ſecret; and as the ſole reſource of the latter perſecuted ſect lay in Elizabeth, ſo the chief hope which the former entertained of final ſucceſs, conſiſted in the perſon and in the title of the queen of Scots: That this very circumſtance brought matters to extremity between theſe princeſſes; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to ſelf-preſervation, or to the happineſs of her people, ſhould direct her to purſue: And that neceſſity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that reſolution which equity would authorize, and which duty preſcribed[1].

When Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed,

[1] Camden, p. 533.

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as decency required, ſhe at laſt determined to carry the ſentence into execution: But even in this final reſolution ſhe could not proceed without diſplaying a new ſcene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previouſly diſperſed that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with a ſtrong army; that the queen of Scots was eſcaped from priſon, and had raiſed an army; that the northern counties had begun an inſurrection; that there was a new conſpiracy on foot to aſſaſſinate the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually aſſaſſinated[m]. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubeſpine, the French ambaſſador; and that miniſter was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was obſerved to ſit much alone, penſive and ſilent; and ſometimes to mutter to herſelf half-ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced[n]. She at laſt called Daviſon, a man of parts, but eaſy to be impoſed on, and who had lately for that very reaſon been made ſecretary, and ſhe ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, ſhe afterwards ſaid, ſhe intended to keep by her, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the deliverance of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant, and then commanded Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal appended to it. Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, enjoining him to forbear, ſome time, executing her former orders; and when Daviſon came and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe ſeemed to be ſomewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, being in a perplexity, ac-

[m] Camden, p. 533. [n] Ibid. p. 534.

quainted

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quainted the council with this whole tranſaction; and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant: If the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure [o]. The ſecretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, and ſome others, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

7th Feb. The execution.

THE two earls came to Fotheringay caſtle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed no-wiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the intelligence. She ſaid, with a cheerful, and even a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have conſented to her death, or have executed the ſentence againſt a perſon not ſubject to the laws and juriſdiction of England. "But as ſuch is her will," ſaid ſhe, "death, which "puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me "moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy "the felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the "body under the horrors of the laſt paſſage to theſe "bliſsful manſions [p]." She then requeſted the two noblemen, that they would permit ſome of her ſervants, and particularly her confeſſor, to attend her: But they told her, that compliance with this laſt demand was contrary to their conſcience [q], and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, ſhould be preſent to inſtruct her in the

[o] It appears by ſome letters publiſhed by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expreſsly communicated her intention to any of her miniſters, not even to Burleigh: They were ſuch experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by ſerving her without waiting till ſhe deſired them.

[p] Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates Library, p. 2. from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

[q] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

 principles

CHAP. XLII. 1587. principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself[r]. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," said she, "that I must die because I conspired against "their queen's life: But the earl of Kent avowed, "that there was no other cause of my death, than "the apprehensions, which, if I should live, they "entertain for their religion. My constancy in the "faith is my real crime: The rest is only a colour, "invented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: They pledged her, in order, on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: She deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and

[r] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

a plentiful

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a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewel, and exchange of mutual forgiveness[s].

MARY's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: She ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: To some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated hoste from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her[t].

TOWARDS the morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left to them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

THOMAS Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, That she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of sir

[s] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302. 626. Camden, p. 534.
[t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

Amias

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Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, sir Amias Paulet, sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her; and wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears prevented farther speech; and Mary too felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, my good servant," said she, "cease to lament: Thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn: For now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion. Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water-brooks." "O God," added she, "thou that art the Author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: Thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and

"kingdom

"kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewel: Once again, farewel, "good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy "prayers to thy queen and mistress[u]."

She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: In order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt by their speeches and cries to disturb both herself and the spectators: He was also apprehensive lest they should practise some superstition not meet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: For that was the instance which he made use of. "My "lord," said the queen of Scots, "I will give "my word (although it be but dead) that they shall "not incur any blame in any of the actions which "you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would "be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewel. And I hope," added she, "that "your mistress being a maiden queen, would "vouchsafe in regard of womanhood, that I should "have some of my own people about me at my "death. I know that her majesty hath not given "you any such strict command, but that you might "grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even "though I were a woman of inferior rank to that

[u] MS. p. 4. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 634. Strype, vol. iii. p. 384.

"which

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"which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent perſiſted ſtill in his refuſal, her mind, which had fortified itſelf againſt the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which ſhe was not prepared. "I am couſin to your queen," cried ſhe, "and "deſcended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. "and a married queen of France, and an anointed "queen of Scotland." The commiſſioners, perceiving how invidious their obſtinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that ſhe might carry a few of her ſervants along with her. She made choice of four men and two maid-ſervants for that purpoſe.

She then paſſed into another hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black; and ſhe ſaw with an undiſmayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with ſpectators; and no one was ſo ſteeled againſt all ſentiments of humanity, as not to be moved when he reflected on her royal dignity, conſidered the ſurpriſing train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible conſtancy, recalled her amiable accompliſhments, or ſurveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, ſtill diſcovered themſelves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony ſhe was ſilent, but ſhewed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the buſineſs had no-wiſe regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow ſtepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himſelf about her, that ſhe was ſettled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that ſhe meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he ſtill thought it his duty to perſiſt in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her converſion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious inſtructions, cruel inſults on

her

her unfortunate ſituation; and beſides their own abſurdity, may be regarded as the moſt mortifying indignities to which ſhe had ever yet been expoſed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occaſion ſhewn a tender care of her; and notwithſtanding the puniſhment juſtly to be inflicted on her for her manifold treſpaſſes, was determined to uſe every expedient for ſaving her ſoul from that deſtruction with which it was ſo nearly threatened: That ſhe was now ſtanding upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of eſcaping endleſs perdition, than by repenting her former wickedneſs, by juſtifying the ſentence pronounced againſt her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus: That the ſcriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Chriſt the only means of ſalvation; and if ſhe truſted in the inventions or devices of men, ſhe muſt expect in an inſtant to fall into utter darkneſs, into a place where ſhall be weeping, howling, and gnaſhing of teeth: That the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was ſpread wide, and the particular ſentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: And that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to riſe to the reſurrection of life, and hear that joyful ſalutation, *Come, ye bleſſed of my Father*; or to ſhare the reſurrection of condemnation, replete with ſorrow and anguiſh; and to ſuffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire*[x].

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During this diſcourſe Mary could not ſometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that ſhe had profited nothing by his lecture, at laſt bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wic-

[x] MS. p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. iii. p. 385.

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kedneſs, and ſettle her faith upon this ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſus could ſhe hope to be ſaved. She anſwered, again and again, with great earneſtneſs: "Trouble not yourſelf any more about the "matter: For I was born in this religion; I have "lived in this religion; and in this religion I am "reſolved to die." Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitleſs to haraſs her any farther with theological diſputes; and they ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unſeaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. During the dean's prayer, ſhe employed herſelf in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finiſhed, ſhe pronounced aloud ſome petitions in Engliſh, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her ſon, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princeſs might long proſper, and be employed in his ſervice. The earl of Kent obſerving that in her devotions ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popiſh trumpery as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand [y]. She replied with preſence of mind, that it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched with ſome compunction [z].

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lent his hand to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid, that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants ſeeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations: She turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them [a]; and having given them her bleſſing, de-

[y] MS. p. 15. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 307. 491. 637. [z] Jebb, ibid.
[a] Jebb, p. 307. 492.

ſired

ſired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom ſhe had appointed for that purpoſe, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; ſhe laid herſelf down without any ſign of fear or trepidation; and her head was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes by the executioner. He inſtantly held it up to the ſpectators, ſtreaming with blood, and agitated with the convulſions of death: The dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's "enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other ſpectators was fixed on the melancholy ſcene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to preſent pity and admiration of the expiring princeſs.

Mary's character.

THUS periſhed, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots; a woman of great accompliſhments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her perſon, and graces of her air, combined to make her the moſt amiable of women; and the charms of her addreſs and converſation aided the impreſſion which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulneſs and ſociety; of a lofty ſpirit, conſtant, and even vehement, in her purpoſe, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; ſhe ſeemed to partake only ſo much of the male virtues as to render her eſtimable, without relinquiſhing thoſe ſoft graces which compoſe the proper ornament of her ſex. In order to form a juſt idea of her character, we muſt ſet aſide one part of her conduct, while ſhe abandoned herſelf to the guidance of a profligate man; and muſt conſider theſe faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the reſult of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconſtancy in the human mind, of

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the frailty of our nature, of the violence of paſſion, and of the influence which ſituations, and ſometimes momentary incidents, have on perſons whoſe principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion, ſhe was betrayed into actions which may with ſome difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct muſt in ſome parts wear the aſpect of ſevere ſatire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the ſolitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the perſecutions to which ſhe had been expoſed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and ſuch were the prevalent ſpirit and principles of the age, that it is the leſs wonder if her zeal, her reſentment, and her intereſt uniting, induced her to give conſent to a deſign which conſpirators, actuated only by the firſt of theſe motives, had formed againſt the life of Elizabeth.

The queen's affected ſorrow.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, ſhe affected the utmoſt ſurpriſe and indignation. Her countenance changed; her ſpeech faultered and failed her; for a long time her ſorrow was ſo deep that ſhe could not expreſs it, but ſtood fixed like a ſtatue in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burſt out into loud wailings and lamentation; ſhe put herſelf in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and ſhe was ſeen perpetually bathed in tears, and ſurrounded only by her maids and women. None of her miniſters or counſellors dared to approach her; or if any had ſuch temerity,

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ſhe chaſed them from her with the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment: They had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe [b], of which they were ſufficiently appriſed and acquainted.

No ſooner was her ſorrow ſo much abated as to leave room for reflection, than ſhe wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and ſent it by ſir Robert Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon. She then told him, that ſhe wiſhed he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which ſhe experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much leſs concurrence, had happened in England: That as her pen trembled when ſhe attempted to write it, ſhe found herſelf obliged to commit the relation of it to the meſſenger, her kinſman; who would likewiſe inform his majeſty of every circumſtance attending this diſmal and unlooked-for misfortune: That ſhe appealed to the ſupreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was alſo ſo happy, amidſt her other afflictions, as to find that many perſons in her court could bear witneſs to her veracity in this proteſtation: That ſhe abhorred diſſimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a ſincere and open conduct; and could never ſurely be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited as that, if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal execution, ſhe could on any conſideration be induced to deny them: That, though ſenſible of the juſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the unhappy priſoner, ſhe determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but reſent the temerity of thoſe who on this occaſion had diſappointed her intention: And that as no one loved him more dearly than herſelf, or bore a more anxious concern

[b] Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 145. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 608.

 for

CHAP. XLII. 1587. for his welfare; ſhe hoped that he would conſider every one as his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the preſent incident, to excite any animoſity between them [c].

In order the better to appeaſe James, ſhe committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the Star Chamber for his miſdemeanour. The ſecretary was confounded; and being ſenſible of the danger which muſt attend his entering into a conteſt with the queen, he expreſſed penitence for his error, and ſubmitted very patiently to be railed at by thoſe very counſellors whoſe perſuaſion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promiſed to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds. He remained a long time in cuſtody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was ſending him ſmall ſupplies from time to time to keep him from periſhing in neceſſity [d]. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambaſſadors, he ſaid, had been remonſtrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure ſhe commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princeſs. She ſigned it readily, and ordered it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England. She appeared in ſuch good humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick: Though I fear he will die of ſorrow when he hears of it." She added, that though ſhe had ſo long delayed the execution, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, ſhe was all along ſenſible of the neceſſity of it.

[c] Camden, p. 536. Spotſwood, p. 358. [d] Camden, p. 538.

it. In the ſame converſation ſhe blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble; and ſhe expreſſed a deſire that Walſingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was ſo bent on this purpoſe, that ſome time after ſhe aſked Daviſon, Whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the ſervice expected of him? Daviſon ſhowed her Paulet's letter, in which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice. The queen fell into a paſſion, and accuſed Paulet as well as Drury of perjury; becauſe, having taken the oath of aſſociation, in which they had bound themſelves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refuſed to lend their hand on this occaſion. "But others," ſhe ſaid, "will be found leſs ſcru-"pulous." Daviſon adds, that nothing but the conſent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to ſend off the warrant: He was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh [e].

Elizabeth's diſſimulation was ſo groſs that it could deceive nobody who was not previouſly reſolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more ſincere and cordial, he diſcovered the higheſt reſentment, and refuſed to admit Cary into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from England; and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The ſtates of Scotland being aſſembled, took part in his anger; and profeſſed that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England.

[e] Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17. From the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.

 Many

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Many of his nobility inſtigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, preſented himſelf to the king, arrayed in complete armour, and ſaid, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his perſon and his kingdom. The queen was ſenſible of the danger attending theſe counſels; and after allowing James ſome decent interval to vent his grief and anger, ſhe employed her emiſſaries to pacify him, and to ſet before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her.

WALSINGHAM wrote to lord Thirlſtone, James's ſecretary, a judicious letter to the ſame purpoſe. He ſaid, That he was much ſurpriſed to hear of the violent reſolutions taken in Scotland, and of the paſſion diſcovered by a prince of ſo much judgment and temper as James: That a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of juſtice which neceſſity had extorted, would for ever be expoſed to cenſure, and could not be excuſed by any principles of equity or reaſon: That if theſe views were deemed leſs momentous among princes, policy and intereſt ought certainly to be attended to; and theſe motives did ſtill more evidently oppoſe all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the Engliſh throne: That the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of ſucceſs, if he truſted merely to the force of his own ſtate, and had no recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance: That the objections attending the introduction of ſuccours from a more potent monarch appeared ſo evident from all the tranſactions of hiſtory, that

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they could not escape a person of the king's extensive knowledge; but there were, in the present case, several peculiar circumstances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourse to so dangerous an expedient: That the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly use the assistance of that kingdom against England; but would be displeased to see the union of these two kingdoms in the person of James; a union which would ever after exclude him from practising that policy formerly so useful to the French,* and so pernicious to the Scottish nation: That Henry, besides, infested with faction and domestic war, was not in a condition of supporting distant allies; much less would he expose himself to any hazard or expence, in order to aggrandise a near kinsman of the house of Guise, the most determined enemies of his repose and authority: That the extensive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spanish monarch rendered him a still more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aspired to an universal monarchy in the west, and had in particular advanced some claims to England, as if he were descended from the house of Lancaster, he was at the same time the common enemy of all princes who wished to maintain their independence, and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: That the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all succours which might be sent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controversy in this island, with the superior forces of her own kingdom, opposed to those of Scotland: That if the king revived his mother's pretensions to the crown of England, he must also embrace her religion, by which alone they could be justified; and must thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning those principles in which he had been strictly educated, and to which he had hitherto re-

 ligiously

CHAP. XLII. 1587. ligiously adhered: That as he would, by such an apostacy, totally alienate all the protestants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would still entertain reasonable doubts of his sincerity: That by advancing a present claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain prospect of his succession, and revived that national animosity which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguished: That the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James shewed such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would be obliged, for their own security, to prevent for ever so implacable a prince from ruling over them: And that, however some persons might represent his honour as engaged to seek vengeance for the present affront and injury, the true honour of a prince consisted in wisdom and moderation and justice, not in following the dictates of blind passion, or in pursuing revenge at the expence of every motive and every interest [f]. These considerations, joined to the peaceable unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was, that she might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual interest so much depended.

While Elizabeth ensured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he seemed to dissemble the daily insults and injuries which he received from the English, was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her; she

[f] Strype, vol. iii. p. 377. Spotswood.

sent

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fent fir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his fupplies, to pillage his coaft, and to deftroy his fhipping. Drake carried out four capital fhips of the queen's, and twenty-fix great and fmall, with which the London merchants, in hopes of fharing in the plunder, had fupplied him. Having learned from two Dutch fhips, which he met with in his paffage, that a Spanifh fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to fet fail for Lifbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he bent his courfe to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged fix gallies, which made head againft him, to take fhelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred veffels, laden with ammunition and naval ftores; and he deftroyed a great fhip of the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he fet fail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by affault the caftle fituated on that promontory, with three other fortreffes. He next infulted Lifbon; and finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were difcontented at thefe military enterprifes, he fet fail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in thofe parts. He was fo fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this fhort expedition, in which the public bore fo fmall a fhare, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprifes, the Englifh feamen learned to defpife the great unwieldy fhips of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were deftroyed, the intended expedition againft England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leifure to take more fecure meafures againft that formidable invafion[g].

Drake deftroys the fleet at Cadiz.

THIS year, Thomas Cavendifh, a gentleman of Devonfhire, who had diffipated a good eftate by

[g] Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 156.

CHAP. XLII. 1587. living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England [h].

The land enterprises of the English were not, during this campaign, so advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was nowise calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in

[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

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both enterprises; and as he ascribed his bad success to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: They slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour and by violence, to recover that influence which he had lost by his imprudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their liberties; and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain: A congress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline: And though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negotiation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England[i]. But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the present conjuncture, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction, by recalling Leicester, and commanding him to resign his government. Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine Lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces. The measures of these two generals were much embarrassed by the malignity of Leicester, who had left a faction behind him, and who still attempted, by means of his emissaries, to disturb all the operations of the States. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she took care to redress them; and she obliged all the partisans of England

i Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv. Strype, vol. iv. N° 246.

CHAP. XLII. 1587. to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice [k]. But though her good ſenſe ſo far prevailed over her partiality to Leiceſter, ſhe never could be made fully ſenſible of his vices and incapacity: The ſubmiſſions which he made her reſtored him to her wonted favour; and lord Buckhurſt, who had accuſed him of miſconduct in Holland, loſt her confidence for ſome time, and was even committed to cuſtody.

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received ſome marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profeſſion of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley deceaſed; but notwithſtanding all the expectations and perhaps wiſhes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high ſtation: His good natural capacity ſupplied the place of experience and ſtudy; and his deciſions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his abſence from court, while he attended the buſineſs of chancery, would gradually eſtrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

1588. These little intrigues and cabals of the court were ſilenced by the account which came from all quarters, of the vaſt preparations made by the Spaniards for the invaſion of England, and for the entire conqueſt of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hoſtilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a ſecret and violent deſire of revenge againſt her. His ambition alſo, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the preſent proſperous ſtate of his affairs; by the conqueſt of Portugal, the acquiſition of the Eaſt-Indian commerce and ſettlements,

Philip projects the invaſion of England.

[k] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 66.

and

and the yearly importation of vaſt treaſures from America. The point on which he reſted his higheſt glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to ſupport orthodoxy and exterminate hereſy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the proteſtants, he hoped, if he could ſubdue that princeſs, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Chriſtian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation againſt his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands inſtigated him to attack the Engliſh, who had encouraged that inſurrection, and who, by ther vicinity, were ſo well enabled to ſupport the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce theſe rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To ſubdue England ſeemed a neceſſary preparative to the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithſtanding appearances, the former was in itſelf, as a more important, ſo a more eaſy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more expoſed to invaſions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty ſeemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military diſcipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it ſtill abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader who ſhould free them from thoſe perſecutions under which they laboured, and ſhould revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England muſt be decided in one battle at ſea, and another at land; and what compariſon between the Engliſh and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Beſides the acquiſition of ſo great a kingdom, ſucceſs againſt England enſured the immediate

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diate ſubjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all ſupport, muſt yield their ſtubborn necks to that yoke which they had ſo long reſiſted. Happily this conqueſt, as it was of the utmoſt importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at preſent be oppoſed by the jealouſy of other powers, naturally ſo much intereſted to prevent the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was ſo torn with inteſtine commotions, that ſhe had no leiſure to pay attention to her foreign intereſts. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again preſent itſelf, muſt be ſeized, and one bold effort made for acquiring that aſcendant in Europe, to which the preſent greatneſs and proſperity of the Spaniards ſeemed ſo fully to entitle them[l].

THESE hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithſtanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterpriſe; and though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma, when conſulted, oppoſed the attempt, at leaſt repreſented the neceſſity of previouſly getting poſſeſſion of ſome ſea-port town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spaniſh navy[m], it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious project. During ſome time he had been ſecretly making preparations; but as ſoon as the reſolution was fully taken, every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and all his miniſters, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the deſign. The marquis of Santa Croce, a ſea-officer of great reputation and experience, was

l Camden. Strype, vol. iii. p. 512.
m Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

deſtined

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destined to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at a great expence; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: The marquess of Borgaut, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany: The Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: The Spanish infantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk and Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprise. Don Amadæus of Savoy, don John of Medicis, Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes,

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hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

Preparations in England.

NEWS of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London; and notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was easily concluded, that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion; and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men [n]. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons [o]. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail [p], many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation [q]. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered on the present occasion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause,

[n] Monson, p. 256. [o] Ibid. p. 268.
[p] Ibid. p. 157. [q] Ibid. p. 321.

instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number[r]. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge[s]; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

THE land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: They were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, and was commanded by lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the

[r] Monson, p. 267. [s] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

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issue of a single battle; and men of reflexion entertained the most dismal apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long disused to war, could muster up against it.

THE chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent sir Robert Sidney into Scotland, and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant[t]: The ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himself prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours[u]: The Hanse Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same motives to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event, which was to decide

[t] She made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with suitable lands and revenue, to settle 5000l. a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the safety of his person. From a MS. of lord Royston's.

[u] Strype, vol. iii. p. 524.

for

for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she encountered that dreadful tempest which was every moment advancing towards her.

The queen also was sensible that, next to the general popularity which she enjoyed, and the confidence which her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against popery. She took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own sect, and this abhorrence of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: All the barbarities exercised by Mary against the protestants, were ascribed to the counsels of that bigoted and imperious nation: The bloody massacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition, were set before men's eyes: A list and description was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spanish Armada was loaded: And every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But while the queen, in this critical emergence, roused the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way to an undistinguishing fury against them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, had deposed her, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had

CHAP. XLII. 1588. had publiſhed a cruſade againſt England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the preſent invaſion; ſhe would not believe that all her catholic ſubjects could be ſo blinded, as to ſacrifice to bigotry their duty to their ſovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counſels, by which ſhe was urged to ſeek pretences for diſpatching the leaders of that party: She would not even confine any conſiderable number of them: And the catholics, ſenſible of this good uſage, generally expreſſed great zeal for the public ſervice. Some gentlemen of that ſect, conſcious that they could not juſtly expect any truſt or authority, entered themſelves as volunteers in the fleet or army[w]: Some equipped ſhips at their own charge, and gave the command of them to proteſtants: Others were active in animating their tenants, and vaſſals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: And every rank of men, burying for the preſent all party diſtinctions, ſeemed to prepare themſelves with order as well as vigour to reſiſt the violence of theſe invaders.

The more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, diſcovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the ſoldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and profeſſed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herſelf into the field againſt the enemy, and rather to periſh in battle than ſurvive the ruin and ſlavery of her people[x]. By this ſpirited behaviour ſhe revived the tenderneſs and admiration of the ſoldiery: An attachment to her perſon became a kind of enthuſiaſm among them: And they aſked one another, Whether it were poſſible that Engliſhmen could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs fortitude than

[w] Stowe, p. 747.
[x] See note [BB] at the end of the volume.

appeared

appeared in the female ſex, or could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquiſh the defence of their heroic princeſs? CHAP. XLII. 1588.

THE Spaniſh Armada was ready in the beginning of May, but the moment it was preparing to ſail, the marqueſs of Santa Croce, the admiral, was ſeized with a fever, of which he ſoon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a ſtrange concurrence of accidents, at the very ſame time ſuffered the ſame fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with ſea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, beſides the loſs of ſo great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the ſailing of the Armada, and gave the Engliſh more time for their preparations to oppoſe them. At laſt, the Spaniſh fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, ſet ſail from Liſbon; but next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſcattered the ſhips, ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt, and forced the reſt to take ſhelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the deſign of an invaſion was diſappointed for this ſummer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for ſaving money, ſhe made Walſingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up ſome of the larger ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen: But lord Effingham, who was not ſo ſanguine in his hopes, uſed the freedom to diſobey theſe orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ſhips in ſervice, though it ſhould be at his own expence[y]. He took advantage of a north wind, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the ſouth, he

29th May.

[y] Camden, p. 545.

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became apprehenſive leſt they might have ſet ſail, and by paſſing him at ſea, invade England, now expoſed by the abſence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmoſt expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

MEANWHILE, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with freſh hopes ſet out again to ſea, in proſecution of their enterpriſe. The fleet conſiſted of a hundred and thirty veſſels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater ſize than any ever before uſed in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix mariners, two thouſand and eighty-eight galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months; and was attended by twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves with ſix oars a-piece [a].

THE plan formed by the king of Spain was, that the Armada ſhould ſail to the coaſt oppoſite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chaſed away all Engliſh or Flemiſh veſſels, which might obſtruct the paſſage (for it was never ſuppoſed they could make oppoſition), ſhould join themſelves with the duke of Parma, ſhould thence make ſail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spaniſh army, thus complete at one blow the entire conqueſt of England. In proſecution of this ſcheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that in paſſing along the channel, he ſhould ſail as near the coaſt of France as he could with ſafety; that he ſhould by this policy avoid meeting with the Engliſh fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterpriſe, ſhould neglect all ſmaller ſucceſſes, which might prove an obſtacle, or even interpoſe a delay, to the acquiſition of a kingdom [b]. After the Armada was under

[a] Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 221. [b] Monſon, p. 157.

ſail,

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ſail, they took a fiſherman, who informed them that the Engliſh admiral had been lately at ſea, had heard of the tempeſt which ſcattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invaſion this ſeaſon, had laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged moſt of the ſeamen. From this falſe intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and deſtroying the Engliſh ſhips in harbour; and he was tempted by the proſpect of ſo deciſive an advantage to break his orders, and make ſail directly for Plymouth: A reſolution which proved the ſafety of England. The Lizard was the firſt land made by the Armada, about ſunſet; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to ſea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the Engliſh navy. They were deſcried by Fleming, a Scottiſh pirate, who was roving in thoſe ſeas, and who immediately ſet ſail to inform the Engliſh admiral of their approach[c]: Another fortunate event which contributed extremely to the ſafety of the fleet. Effingham had juſt time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other.

19th July. The Armada arrives in the Channel.

THE writers of that age raiſe their ſtyle by a pompous deſcription of this ſpectacle; the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infuſing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty maſts, the ſwelling ſails, and the towering prows of the Spaniſh galleons, ſeem impoſſible to be juſtly painted, but by aſſuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent hiſtorian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has aſſerted, that the Armada, though the ſhips bore every ſail, yet ad-

[c] Monſon, p. 158.

 vanced

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vanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight[d]. The truth, however, is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill framed, or so ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already had experience how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous appearance.

Effingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards; where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, must afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: The great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast: And both these vessels were taken after some resistance, by sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found,

[d] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

that

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that even in cloſe fight the ſize of the Spaniſh ſhips was no advantage to them. Their bulk expoſed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh. The alarm having now reached the coaſt of England, the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, ſir Thomas Cecil, ſir Robert Cecil, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, ſir Thomas Gerrard, ſir Charles Blount, with many others, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous and diſintereſted ſervice of their country. The Engliſh fleet, after the conjunction of thoſe ſhips, amounted to a hundred and forty ſail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and caſt anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to ſea and join his forces to them. The Engliſh admiral practiſed here a ſucceſsful ſtratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with all combuſtible materials, ſent them one after another into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fireſhips of the ſame contrivance with a famous veſſel which had lately done ſo much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greateſt diſorder and precipitation. The Engliſh fell upon them next morning while in confuſion; and beſides doing great damage to other ſhips, they took or deſtroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent, that the intention for which theſe preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely fruſtrated. The veſſels provided by the duke of Parma were made for tranſporting ſoldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, poſitively

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refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that resolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprise would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: The ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: The mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

Defeated.

SUCH

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SUCH was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blest this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper: But they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them [e].

1589. 4th Feb.

SOON after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, the queen summoned a new parliament; and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and so unusual a concession was probably obtained from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans which had lately been imposed upon the nation [f].

A parliament.

ELIZABETH foresaw, that this house of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprises, she renewed at the beginning of the session her usual injunction, that the parliament should not on any account presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of

e See note [CC] at the end of the volume.
f See note [DD] at the end of the volume.

one

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one Damport moved him to preſent a bill to the commons for remedying ſpiritual grievances, and for reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which were certainly great: But when Mr. ſecretary Woley reminded the houſe of her majeſty's commands, no one durſt ſecond the motion; the bill was not ſo much as read; and the ſpeaker returned it to Damport without taking the leaſt notice of it[g]. Some members of the houſe, notwithſtanding the general ſubmiſſion, were even committed to cuſtody on account of this attempt[h].

The imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared ſtill more clearly in another parliamentary tranſaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleaſure take proviſions for the houſehold from all the neighbouring counties, and could make uſe of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of theſe commodities and ſervices was fixed and ſtated. The payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, were much inferior to the preſent market price; ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and caſual, was liable to great abuſes. We may fairly preſume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, ſupported by her unlimited power, would be ſure to render this prerogative very oppreſſive to the people; and the commons had laſt ſeſſion found it neceſſary to paſs a bill for regulating theſe exactions: But the bill was loſt in the houſe of peers[i]. The continuance of the abuſes begat a new attempt for redreſs; and the ſame bill was now revived, and again ſent up to the houſe of peers, together with a bill for ſome new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a

g D'Ewes, p. 438. h Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 280. Neal, vol. i. p. 500. i D'Ewes, p. 434.

meſſage

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meſſage from the upper houſe, deſiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a meſſage delivered by lord Burleigh, had expreſſed her diſpleaſure, that the commons ſhould preſume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuſes, ſhe ſaid, either in impoſing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majeſty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in theſe matters [k]. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to ſatisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: She expreſſed her great *ineſtimable loving care* towards her loving ſubjects; which, ſhe ſaid, was greater than of her own ſelf, or even than any of them could have of themſelves. She told them, that ſhe had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuſes attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spaniſh invaſion had retarded the progreſs of the deſign; that ſhe had as much ſkill, will, and power to rule her houſehold as any ſubjects whatſoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the aſſiſtance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, conſequently more near to her than even her houſehold, and therefore the leſs proper for them to intermeddle with; and that ſhe would of herſelf, with advice of her council and the judges, redreſs every grievance in theſe matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending theſe regulations [l]. The iſſue of this matter was the ſame that attended all conteſts between Elizabeth and her parliaments [m]. She ſeems even to have

[k] D'Ewes, p. 440. [l] Ibid. p. 444.
[m] *Si rixa eſt, ubi tu pulſas, ego vapulo tantum.* Juv.

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been more imperious in this particular than her predeceſſors; at leaſt her more remote ones: For they often permitted the abuſes of purveyance [n] to be redreſſed by law [o]. Edward III. a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten ſeveral ſtatutes to be enacted for that purpoſe.

In ſo great awe did the commons ſtand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durſt uſe no freedom of ſpeech which they thought would give the leaſt offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby ſhewed in the houſe his extreme grief, that by ſome great perſonage, not a member of the houſe, he had been ſharply rebuked for ſpeeches delivered in parliament: He craved the favour of the houſe, and deſired that ſome of the members might inform that great perſonage of his true meaning and intention in theſe ſpeeches [p]. The commons, to obviate theſe inconveniences, paſſed a vote that no one ſhould reveal the ſecrets of the houſe [q].

Expedition againſt Portugal.

The diſcomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterpriſes againſt Spain; and nothing ſeemed now impoſſible to be atchieved by the valour and fortune of the Engliſh. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, truſting to the averſion of his countrymen againſt the Caſtilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying firſt to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretenſions. A deſign was formed by the people, not the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for don Antonio: Sir Francis Drake and ſir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterpriſe:

[n] See note [EE] at the end of the volume. [o] See the Statutes under the head of purveyance. [p] D'Ewes, p. 432, 433.

[q] An act was paſſed this ſeſſion, enforcing the former ſtatute, which impoſed twenty pounds a month on every one abſent from public worſhip: But the penalty was reſtricted to two-thirds of the income of the recuſant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

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Near twenty thousand volunteers [r] enlisted themselves in the service: And ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition [s]. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprise. The small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an undertaking: They even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them; and they were obliged to seize by force some ships of the Hanse Towns, which they met with at sea: An expedient which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions [t]. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have ensured them of success: But hearing that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither and destroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned some ships of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thousand men, which was assembled to oppose them; they assaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, fired with the thirst of military

[r] Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61. Monson, p. 267. says, that there were only fourteen thousand soldiers and four thousand seamen in the whole on this expedition: But the account contained in Dr. Birch, is given by one of the most considerable of the adventurers.

[s] Monson, p. 267.

[t] Ibid. p. 159.

honour,

CHAP. XLII. 1589. honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprise.

THE English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town, twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had gotten leisure to prepare against the invasion. Forces were thrown into Lisbon: The Portuguese were disarmed: All suspected persons were taken into custody: And thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to don Antonio, none of them durst declare in favour of the invaders. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had seized the army: So that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to reimbark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and finding at the mouth of the river sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword[u];

[u] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

and

and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprise. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters [x].

WHEN these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity which saved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras; a great mortality seized the rest: And it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to steer the ships back into harbour [y].

Affairs of Scotland.

THOUGH the signal advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-spirited princess, who knew so well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the catholics, which

[x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61. [y] Monson, p. 161.

could

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could alone render these claims dangerous [z]: And as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrolled authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions: And so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident which might anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years she succeeded in this malignant policy [a]. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, who being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negotiation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself by the prospect of issue, from those traiterous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so

[z] Winwood, vol. i. p. 41. [a] Melvil, p. 166. 177.

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usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: The articles of marriage were settled: The ceremony was performed by proxy: And the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. This tempest, and some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy[b]. James, however, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: He arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a popish rite; and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and after much controversy, and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition[c].

[b] Melvil, p. 180. [c] Spotswood, p. 381.

CHAP. XLIII.

French affairs——Murder of the duke of Guiſe——Murder of Henry III.——*Progreſs of Henry* IV.——*Naval enterpriſes againſt Spain——A parliament——Henry* IV. *embraces the catholic religion——Scotch affairs——Naval enterpriſes——A parliament——Peace of Vervins——The earl of Eſſex.*

CHAP. XLIII. 1590.

AFTER a ſtate of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a ſituation where, though her affairs ſtill required attention, and found employment for her active ſpirit, ſhe was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with ſome degree of confidence and ſecurity. Her ſucceſsful and prudent adminiſtration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own ſubjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however diſcontented, pretended not to diſpute her title, or adhere to any other perſon as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and eccleſiaſtics, poſſeſſed at home very little authority; and was ſolicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the Engliſh nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would ſecure him that rich ſucceſſion to which his birth entitled him. The Hollanders, though over-matched in their conteſt with Spain, ſtill made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and ſuch was their unconquerable antipathy to their old maſters, and ſuch the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that

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that the ſubduing of that ſmall territory, if at all poſſible, muſt be the work of years, and the reſult of many and great ſucceſſes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort againſt England, had been tranſported by reſentment and ambition beyond his uſual cautious maxims, was now diſabled, and ſtill more diſcouraged, from adventuring again on ſuch hazardous enterpriſes. The ſituation alſo of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithſtanding all his artifice, and force, and expence, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

French affairs.

THE violence of the league having conſtrained Henry to declare war againſt the Hugonots, theſe religioniſts ſeemed expoſed to the utmoſt danger; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the intimate connexion between her own intereſts and thoſe of that party, had ſupported the king of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and by large ſums of money, which ſhe remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the ſame time diſcomfited by the army of the league, under the duke of Guiſe, his ſituation, notwithſtanding his victory, ſeemed ſtill as deſperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diverſity of ſucceſs aroſe from the diſſenſions which by that means took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt their king, whoſe intentions had become ſuſpicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his ſafety. That prince, diſſembling his reſentment, entered into a negotiation with the league; and having conferred

CHAP. XLIII. 1590. many high offices on Guife and his partifans, fummoned an affembly of the ftates at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to fupport the intended war againft the Hugonots. The various fcenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had juftly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guife, trufting more to the timidity than honour of the king, rafhly put himfelf into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the afcendant of his own genius, to make him fubmit to all his exorbitant pretenfions. Henry, though of an eafy difpofition, not fteady to his refolutions, or even to his promifes, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his fubtilties eluded by the vigour of Guife, and even his throne expofed to the moft imminent danger, he embraced more violent counfels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guife, to be affaffinated in his palace.

Murder of the duke of Guife.

THIS cruel execution, which the neceffity of it alone could excufe, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and feemed at firft to plunge him into greater dangers than thofe which he fought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partifans of the league were inflamed with the utmoft rage againft him: The populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: The ecclefiaftics and the preachers filled all places with execrations againft his name: And the moft powerful cities, and moft opulent provinces, appeared to combine in a refolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding flender refources among his catholic fubjects, was conftrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: He enlifted large bodies of Swifs infantry and German cavalry: And being ftill fupported by his chief nobility, he affembled by all thefe means an army of near forty thoufand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready

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ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar, enflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguishes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the persecutions of a heretical tyrant; and, being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August 1589.

Murder of Henry the third.

The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV. but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The prejudices entertained against his religion, made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and it was only by his promise of hearkening to conferences and instruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force, and the king of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds, a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever seen before: And she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined

CHAP. XLIII. 1590. the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English in many other enterprises; and still found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, sir Thomas Baskerville, and sir John Boroughs, acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour.

Progress of Henry the fourth.

The army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine: When the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and, by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss which he sustained was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States [d].

1591. The situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours; and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of

[d] See note [FF] at the end of the volume.

supporting

ſupporting him by ſome advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Britanny, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himſelf hard preſſed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to ſecure himſelf, to introduce ſome Spaniſh troops into the ſea-port towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foreſaw that the Spaniards, beſides infeſting the Engliſh commerce by privateers, might employ theſe harbours as the ſeat of their naval preparations, and might more eaſily from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invaſion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which ſhe engaged to ſend over three thouſand men, to be employed in the reduction of Britanny, and ſhe ſtipulated that her charges ſhould, in a twelvemonth, or as ſoon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her[e]. Theſe forces were commanded by ſir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a ſmall body which garriſoned Dieppe: And a ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of ſir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coaſt of France, and intercepted all the veſſels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

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THE operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it neceſſary to lay aſide the projected enterpriſe againſt Britanny, perſuaded the Engliſh commanders to join his army, and to take a ſhare in the hoſtilities which he carried into Picardy[f]. Notwithſtanding the diſguſt which Elizabeth received from this diſappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and perſuaded her to ſend over a new body of four thouſand men to aſſiſt him in that enter-

[e] Camden, p. 561. [f] Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 116.

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prise. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneasy to lie some time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders which he received from his mistress been so positive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was also proposed to Elizabeth by the French ambassador, but she rejected it with great displeasure; and she threatened immediately to recal her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests[g]. Urged by these motives, the French king at last led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Roüen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprise with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princess, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained that the English forces were thrust foremost in every hazardous enterprise[h]. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often enjoyed this perilous honour.

[g] Birch's Negotiations, p. 5. Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 123. 140.
[h] Camden, p. 562.

NOTWITH-

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NOTWITHSTANDING the indifferent ſucceſs of former enterpriſes, the queen was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to ſupport Henry againſt the league and the Spaniards; and ſhe formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common conſent; *ſhe* promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply of four thouſand men; and *he* ſtipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ theſe forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition againſt Britanny, and to conſign into her hands a ſea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the Engliſh[i]. Henry knew the impoſſibility of executing ſome of theſe articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly inſiſted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her ſuccours, and truſted that he might eaſily, on ſome pretence, be able to excuſe his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the leaſt ſucceſsful of all thoſe which he had yet carried on againſt the league.

Naval enterpriſes againſt Spain.

DURING theſe military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power againſt Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his Weſt Indian treaſures, the ſource of that greatneſs which rendered him ſo formidable to all his neighbours. She ſent a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this ſervice; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpoſe, fitted out a great force of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron; and, by the courageous obſtinacy of ſir Richard Grenville, the vice admiral, who refuſed to make his eſcape by flight, they took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards[k]. The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely into England; fruſtrated

[i] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 151. 168. 171. 173.
[k] See note [GG] at the end of the volume.

of

CHAP. XLIII. 1591. of their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck ere they reached the Spanish harbours [l]. The earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful enterprise against the Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the queen's, and seven others equipped at his own expence; but the prizes which he made did not compensate the charges [m].

THE spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his interest to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the
1592. West Indies. The fleet was detained so long in the Channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed another [n]. About the same time Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained about two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

THIS war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expence to England;

[l] Monson, p. 163. [m] Ibid. p. 169.
[n] Ibid. p. 165. Camden, p. 569.

and

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and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds [o]; a charge which, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was too burdensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned therefore a parliament in order to obtain supply: But she either thought her authority so established that she needed to make them no concessions in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: For there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. When the speaker, sir Edward Coke, made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No: That she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them: That she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: And that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times

1593. Feb. 19. A parliament.

[o] Strype, vol. iii.

convenient,

CHAP. XLIII. convenient, and when ſhe might have leiſure from other important affairs of the realm [p].

1593. NOTWITHSTANDING the menacing and contemptuous air of this ſpeech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not diſcouraged by his former ill ſucceſs, ventured to tranſgreſs the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He preſented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he deſired the upper houſe to join with the lower in a ſupplication to her majeſty for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpoſe. This method of proceeding was ſufficiently reſpectful and cautious; but the ſubject was always extremely diſagreeable to the queen, and what ſhe had expreſsly prohibited any one from meddling with: She ſent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed ſir Thomas Bromley, who had ſeconded him, to the Fleet priſon, together with Stevens and Welſh, two members to whom ſir Thomas had communicated his intention [q]. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the houſe, to petition the queen for the releaſe of theſe members; but it was anſwered by all the privy-counſellors there preſent, that her majeſty had committed them for cauſes beſt known to herſelf, and that to preſs her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to ſerve: She would releaſe them whenever ſhe thought proper, and would be better pleaſed to do it of her own proper motion, than from their ſuggeſtion [r]. The houſe willingly acquieſced in this reaſoning.

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the ſeſſion, might well repreſs all farther attempts for freedom: But the religious zeal of the puritans was not ſo eaſily reſtrained; and it inſpired a courage which no human motive was able to ſurmount.

[p] D'Ewes, p. 460. 469. Townſend, p. 37.
[q] D'Ewes, p. 470. Townſend, p. 54. [r] D'Ewes, p. 497.

Morrice,

Morrice, chancellor of the dutchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redreſſing the abuſes in the biſhops' courts, but above all, in the high commiſſion; where ſubſcriptions, he ſaid, were exacted to articles at the pleaſure of the prelates; where oaths were impoſed, obliging perſons to anſwer to all queſtions without diſtinction, even though they ſhould tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refuſed entire ſatisfaction to the commiſſioners was impriſoned, without relief or remedy[s]. This motion was ſeconded by ſome members; but the miniſters and privy-counſellors oppoſed it, and foretold the conſequences which enſued. The queen ſent for the ſpeaker, and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, ſhe told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to diſſolve them, in her power to give aſſent or diſſent to any determination which they ſhould form: That her purpoſe in ſummoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation againſt the exorbitant power of Spain: That theſe two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: She had enjoined them already by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of ſtate nor religion; and ſhe wondered how any one could be ſo aſſuming as to attempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition: That ſhe was highly offended with this preſumption; and took the preſent opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either ſtate affairs, or reformation in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, be exhibited in the houſe: And that, in particular, ſhe charged the ſpeaker upon his allegiance, if any ſuch bills were

[s] D'Ewes, p. 474. Townſend, p. 60.

offered,

CHAP. XLIII. 1593.

offered, abſolutely to refuſe them a reading, and not ſo much as permit them to be debated by the members [t]. This command from the queen was ſubmitted to without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the houſe itſelf by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury caſtle [u].

The queen having thus expreſsly pointed out both what the houſe ſhould and ſhould not do, the commons were as obſequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They paſſed a law againſt recuſants; ſuch a law as was ſuited to the ſevere character of Elizabeth, and to the perſecuting ſpirit of the age. It was intituled, *An act to retain her majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*; and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons: For theſe two ſpecies of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of ſociety. It was enacted, that any perſon above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed during the ſpace of a month to attend public worſhip, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if after being condemned for this offence, he perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that if he either refuſe this condition, or return after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy [x]. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and, had it not been impoſed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that reſpect, much contrary to the private ſentiments and inclinations of the majority in the houſe of commons.

[t] D'Ewes, p. 474. 478. Townſend, p. 68. [u] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 320. [x] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

Very

Very little oppofition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it [y]. CHAP. XLIII.

1593.

The expences of the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of fubfidies feems to have been the moft important bufinefs of this parliament; and it was a fignal proof of the high fpirit of Elizabeth that, while confcious of a prefent dependence on the commons, fhe opened the feffion with the moft haughty treatment of them, and covered her weaknefs under fuch a lofty appearance of fuperiority. The commons readily voted two fubfidies and four fifteenths; but this fum not appearing fufficient to the court, an unufual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their conceffions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their confent to the fupply voted, thinking it too fmall for the queen's occafions: They therefore propofed a grant of three fubfidies and fix fifteenths; and defired a farther conference in order to perfuade the commons to agree to this meafure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of fubfidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at firft abfolutely rejected the propofal: But being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refufal given offence to their fuperiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional fubfidy [z].

The queen, notwithftanding this unufual conceffion of the commons, ended the feffion with a fpeech, containing fome reprimands to them, and full of the fame high pretenfions which fhe had affumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members fpent more time than was neceffary, by in-

[y] After enacting this ftatute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themfelves, often took care that recufants fhould be tried by the civil judges at the affizes, rather than by the ecclefiaftical commiffioners. Strype's Ann. vol. iv. p. 264.

[z] D'Ewes, p. 483. 487, 488. Townfend, p. 56.

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dulging themselves in harangues and reasonings: And she expressed her displeasure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-counsellors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted "as common knights and burgesses of the house, "who are counsellors but during the parliament: "Whereas the others are standing counsellors, and "for their wisdom and great service are called to "the council of the state[a]." The queen also, in her own person, made the parliament a spirited harangue; in which she spoke of the justice and moderation of her government, expressed the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the just grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and discovered how little she apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort against her than that of his Invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added she, "that when he attempted this last invasion, "some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled "up higher into the country, and left all naked and "exposed to his entrance: But I swear unto you, "by God, if I knew those persons, or may know "of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make "them feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a "cause[b]." By this menace, she probably gave the people to understand, that she would execute martial law upon such cowards: For there was no statute by which a man could be punished for changing his place of abode.

The king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained considerable advantages over them, and though he was assisted by a considerable body of English under Norris, who carried hostilities into the heart of Bri-

[a] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townsend, p. 47.
[b] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townsend, p. 48.

tanny,

1593.

tanny, was become ſenſible that he never could by force of arms alone render himſelf maſter of his kingdom. The nearer he ſeemed by his military ſucceſſes, to approach to a full poſſeſſion of the throne, the more diſcontent and jealouſy aroſe among thoſe Romaniſts who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect ſome catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry ſhould any longer refuſe to ſatisfy them by declaring his converſion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his ſect; and as he deemed theſe theological diſputes entirely ſubordinate to the public good, he had ſecretly determined from the beginning, to come ſome time or other to the reſolution required of him. He had found on the death of his predeceſſor, that the hugonots, who formed the braveſt and moſt faithful part of his army, were ſuch determined zealots, that if he had at that time abjured their faith, they would inſtantly have abandoned him to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the catholics. The more bigoted catholics, he knew, particularly thoſe of the league, had entertained ſuch an unſurmountable prejudice againſt his perſon, and diffidence of his ſincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he muſt either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on ſuch terms as would leave him little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty. In this delicate ſituation he had reſolved to temporiſe; to retain the hugonots by continuing in the profeſſion of their religion; to gain the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of his converſion; to attach both to his perſon by conduct and ſucceſs; and he hoped either that the animoſity ariſing from war againſt the league, would make them drop gradually the queſtion of religion, or that he might in time, after ſome victories over his enemies and ſome conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which muſt have

 appeared

CHAP. XLIII. 1593. Henry IV. embraces the catholic religion.

appeared at firſt mean as well as ſuſpicious to both parties.

WHEN the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general perſuaſion or prepoſſeſſion, they are eaſily induced by any motive or authority to change their faith in theſe myſterious ſubjects; as appears from the example of the Engliſh, who, during ſome reigns, uſually embraced, without ſcruple, the ſtill varying religion of their ſovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had ſo long been diſplayed as the badges of faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animoſity againſt the other, were not found ſo pliable or inconſtant; and Henry was at laſt convinced, that the catholics of his party would entirely abandon him, if he gave them not immediate ſatiſfaction in this particular. The hugonots alſo, taught by experience, clearly ſaw that his deſertion of them was become abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſettlement; and ſo general was this perſuaſion among them, that, as the duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purpoſely allowed themſelves to be worſted in the diſputes and conferences; that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakneſs of their cauſe, and might more cordially and ſincerely, at leaſt more decently, embrace the religion which it was ſo much his intereſt to believe. If this ſelf-denial in ſo tender a point ſhould appear incredible and ſupernatural in theologians, it will at leaſt be thought very natural, that a prince ſo little inſtructed in theſe matters as Henry, and deſirous to preſerve his ſincerity, ſhould inſenſibly bend his opinion to the neceſſity of his affairs, and ſhould believe that party to have the beſt arguments who could alone put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom. All circumſtances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the proteſtant religion, and was ſolemnly received by the French prelates of his party, into the boſom of the church.

ELIZABETH,

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ELIZABETH, who was herſelf attached to the proteſtants, chiefly by her intereſts and the circumſtances of her birth, and who ſeems to have entertained ſome propenſity during her whole life to the catholic ſuperſtition, at leaſt to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely diſpleaſed with this abjuration of Henry; and ſhe wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this intereſted change of his religion. Senſible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, ſhe hearkened to his apologies; continued her ſuccours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually ſtipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

Scotch affairs.

THE intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: By means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new diſorders in Scotland, and gave freſh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was paſſing ſecretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen with Philip was diſcovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spaniſh monarch: And had ſtipulated to raiſe all their forces; to join them to a body of Spaniſh troops, which Philip promiſed to ſend into Scotland; and after re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power in order to effect the ſame purpoſe in England[c]. Graham of Fintry, who had alſo entered into this conſpiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth ſent lord Borough ambaſſador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exerciſe the ſame ſeverity on the three earls, to confiſcate their eſtates, and by annexing them to the crown,

[c] Spotſwood, p. 391. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 190.

CHAP. XLIII. 1593. both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not easy to be executed by the small revenue and limited authority of James. He desired, therefore, some supply from her of men and money; but though she had reason to deem the prosecution of the three popish earls a common cause, she never could be prevailed on to grant him the least assistance. The tenth part of the expence, which she bestowed in supporting the French king, and the States, would have sufficed to execute this purpose, more immediately essential to her security [d]: But she seems ever to have borne some degree of malignity to James, whom she hated both as her heir and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James assistance to prosecute the catholic conspirators, the queen rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwel [e], a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traiterous enterprises, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king, and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonourable terms upon that prince: But James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel; and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which she was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of

[d] Spotswood, p. 393. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 235.
[e] Spotswood, p. 257, 258.

Scotland.

Scotland. During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the catholic earls remained in suspense; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed on certain terms to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter first in France, then in Italy, where he died some years after in great poverty.

1594.

The established authority of the queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traiterous and perfidious machinations as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction [f]. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious [g].

Instead of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable

[f] Camden, p. 577. Birch's Negot. p. 15. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 381.
[g] Camden, p. 582.

CHAP. XLIII. vengeance, by ſupporting the king of France, and aſſiſting him in finally breaking the force of the

1594. league, which, after the converſion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with ſpeedy ruin and diſſolution. Norris commanded the Engliſh forces in Britanny, and aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Breſt, towns garriſoned by Spaniſh forces. In every action, the Engliſh, though they had ſo long enjoyed domeſtic peace, diſcovered a ſtrong military diſpoſition; and the queen, though herſelf a heroine, found more frequent occaſion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution[h]: Sir Martin Frobiſher, her brave admiral, periſhed with many others before Breſt. Morlaix had been promiſed to the Engliſh for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promiſe, by making it be inſerted in the capitulation, that none but catholics ſhould be admitted into that city.

1595. NEXT campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hoſtilities with Philip, was at laſt provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war againſt that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invaſion in England, and with an inſurrection in Ireland, recalled moſt of her forces, and ſent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding alſo, that the French league was almoſt entirely diſſolved, and that the moſt conſiderable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, ſhe thought that he could well ſupport himſelf by his own force and valour; and ſhe began to be more ſparing in his cauſe of the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects.

SOME diſguſts which ſhe had received from the States, joined to the remonſtrances of her frugal

[h] Camden, p. 578.

minifter

minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded, by her ambassador, sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The States, besides alleging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war; much more in saving money to discharge their incumbrances. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England [i].

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THE queen still retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the States; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favour with herself, the queen, who was commonly reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper

[i] Camden, p. 586.

CHAP. XLIII. on this occasion to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

1596.

1597. THIS body of English were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English, in so many fortunate enterprises undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries under sir Francis Vere and sir Robert Sydney had acquired honour; and the success of that day was universally ascribed to their discipline and valour.

Naval enterprises.

THOUGH Elizabeth, at a considerable expence of blood and treasure, made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows which she gave him were by those naval enterprises which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son of sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan: But his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. James Lancaster was supplied the same year with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy; and not content with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where he knew great treasures were at that time lodged. As he approached the shore he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but no-wise daunted at this appearance, he placed

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placed the ſtouteſt of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with ſuch violence on the landing place as to ſplit them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all reſource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a ſhort reſiſtance. He returned home with the treaſure which he had ſo bravely acquired. In 1595, ſir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendſhip by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into priſon for this miſdemeanor, no ſooner recovered his liberty, than he was puſhed by his active and enterpriſing genius to attempt ſome great action. The ſucceſs of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers againſt Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepoſſeſſion univerſally took place, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiſcovered, there were mines and treaſures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizzaro had met with. Raleigh, whoſe turn of mind was ſomewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the diſcovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. On his return, he publiſhed an account of the country, full of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable lies that were ever attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind[k].

THE ſame year, ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and they carried with them ſix ſhips of the queen's, and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own charge, or were furniſhed them by private adventurers.

[k] Camden, p. 584.

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venturers. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their firſt deſign was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time ſtationed; but as they had not preſerved the requiſite ſecreſy, a pinnace, having ſtrayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the Engliſh. Preparations were made in that iſland for their reception; and the Engliſh fleet, notwithſtanding the brave aſſault which they made on the enemy, was repulſed with loſs. Hawkins ſoon after died; and Drake purſued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the iſthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to paſs forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found ſuch a ſcheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the ſame facility which had attended his firſt enterpriſes in thoſe parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the paſſes, and had ſtationed troops in the woods; who ſo infeſted the Engliſh by continual alarms and ſkirmiſhes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himſelf, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his diſappointment, was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died. Sir Thomas Baſkerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spaniſh fleet, of which the event was not deciſive, he returned to England. The Spaniards ſuffered ſome loſs from this enterpriſe; but the Engliſh reaped no profit[1].

The bad ſucceſs of this enterpriſe in the Indies made the Engliſh rather attempt the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invaſion of

[1] Monſon, p. 167.

England.

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England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels: Twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, beside the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex: The navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament: For such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral[m].

The fleet set sail on the first of June 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

After a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's on the western side of the island of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash; and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained

[m] Camden, p. 591.

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great scruples with regard to it: But Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea, and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack [n]. That duty was performed by sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midst of the fleet; he broke through and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was soon obliged to slip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter, and treat his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city; but missed of a much richer by the resolution which the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats [o]; besides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities and destroying in their harbour a fleet of such force and value.

[n] Monson, p. 196. [o] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

Essex,

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Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great ſucceſs only as a ſtep to future atchievements: He inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz; and he undertook with four hundred men and three months proviſions, to defend the place till ſuccours ſhould arrive from England: But all the other ſeamen and ſoldiers were ſatisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home in order to ſecure their plunder. Every other propoſal of Eſſex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his ſcheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for aſſaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebaſtian: And the Engliſh, finding it ſo difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at laſt left him on the Spaniſh coaſt, attended by a very few ſhips. He complained much to the queen of their want of ſpirit in this enterpriſe; nor was ſhe pleaſed that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet [p]; but the great ſucceſs, in the enterpriſe of Cadiz, had covered all their miſcarriages: And that princeſs, though ſhe admired the lofty genius of Eſſex, could not forbear expreſſing an eſteem for the other officers [q]. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great diſguſt to Eſſex [r]. In the preamble of the patent it was ſaid, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, and deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhips; a merit which Eſſex pretended to belong ſolely to himſelf: And he offered to maintain this plea by ſingle combat againſt the earl of Nottingham, or his ſons, or any of his kindred.

The atchievements in the ſubſequent year proved not ſo fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly eſcaped the Engliſh, Philip had ſtill reaſon to ſee the great hazard and diſadvantages of that war

[p] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 121. [q] Camden, p. 593.
[r] Sidney's Papers, vol. ii. p. 77.

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in which he was engaged, and the ſuperiority which the Engliſh, by their naval power and their ſituation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were ſo much ſhattered and deſtroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a ſquadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a deſcent in Ireland, was reſolved to prevent their enterpriſe, and to deſtroy the ſhipping in theſe harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty ſail, of which ſeventeen were her own ſhips, forty-three were ſmaller veſſels, and the reſt tenders and victuallers: She embarked on board this fleet five thouſand new-levied ſoldiers, and added a thouſand veteran troops, whom ſir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Eſſex, commander in chief both of the land and ſea forces, was at the head of one ſquadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another: Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Eſſex: Vere was appointed marſhal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount firſt colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked as volunteers. Eſſex declared his reſolution either to deſtroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to periſh in the attempt.

9th July.

THIS powerful fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth; but were no ſooner out of harbour than they met with a furious ſtorm, which ſhattered and diſperſed them; and before they could be refitted Eſſex found that their proviſions were ſo far ſpent, that it would not be ſafe to carry ſo numerous an army along with him. He diſmiſſed therefore all the ſoldiers, except the thouſand veterans under Vere; and laying aſide all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting

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cepting of the Indian fleet; which had at firſt been conſidered only as the ſecond enterpriſe which he was to attempt.

THE Indian fleet in that age, by reaſon of the imperfection of navigation, had a ſtated courſe as well as ſeaſon, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain iſlands at which, as at fixed ſtages, they always touched, and where they took in water and proviſions. The Azores being one of theſe places where about this time the fleet was expected, Eſſex bent his courſe thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of theſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons were ſeparated; and Raleigh arriving firſt before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould by farther delay have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterpriſe; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: He caſhiered therefore Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh, though high-ſpirited, to make ſubmiſſions to the general. Eſſex, who was placable as well as haſty and paſſionate, was ſoon appeaſed, and both received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands[s]. This incident, however, though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

[s] Monſon, p. 173.

ESSEX

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Essex made next a difpofition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and fir William Monfon, whofe ftation was the moft remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the fignals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, afcribes Effex's failure, when he was fo near attaining fo mighty an advantage, to his want of experience in feamanfhip; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman, appears very reafonable as well as candid[t]. The Spanifh fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the fail poffible to the Terceras, and got into the fafe and well-fortified harbour of Angra, before the Englifh fleet could overtake them. Effex intercepted only three fhips; which, however, were fo rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The caufes of the mifcarriage in this enterprife were much canvaffed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Effex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, fpirit, and generofity of the former, were inclined to juftify every circumftance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as fhe efteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to fhare her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, fecond fon of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promifing hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and fhe made him fecretary of ftate, preferably to fir Thomas Bodley, whom Effex recommended for that office. But not to difguft Effex, fhe promoted him to the dignity of earl marfhal of England; an office which had been vacant fince the death of the earl of Shrewfbury. Effex might perceive from this conduct, that fhe never intended to give him the entire afcendant over his rivals, and

[t] Monfon, p. 174.

might

might thence learn the neceſſity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for ſubmiſſion; his behaviour too open and candid to practiſe the arts of a court; and his free ſallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages againſt him.

24th Oct. THE war with Spain, though ſucceſsful, having exhauſted the queen's exchequer, ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons[u]. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of ſir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this aſſembly of the neceſſity of a ſupply. She ſaid, That the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at moſt a province, from each other; but the object of the preſent hoſtilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: That theſe bleſſings, however, ſhe herſelf had hitherto been able to preſerve, in ſpite of the devil, the pope, and the Spaniſh tyrant, and all the miſchievous deſigns of all her enemies: That in this conteſt ſhe had diſburſed a ſum triple to all the parliamentary ſupplies granted her; and, beſides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to ſell many of the crown lands: And that ſhe could not doubt but her ſubjects, in a cauſe where their own honour and intereſt were ſo deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to ſuch moderate taxations as ſhould be found neceſſary for the common defence[x]. The parliament granted her three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; the ſame ſupply which had been given four years before, but which had

[u] See note [HH] at the end of the volume.
[x] D'Ewes, p. 525. 527. Townſend, p. 79.

then

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then appeared ſo unuſual, that they had voted it ſhould never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

THE commons, this ſeſſion, ventured to engage in two controverſies about forms with the houſe of peers; a prelude to thoſe encroachments which, as they aſſumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their meſſages ſitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an anſwer in the ſame negligent poſture: But the upper houſe proved to their full ſatisfaction, that they were not entitled by cuſtom and the uſage of parliament to any more reſpect[y]. Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill ſent up by the commons; and theſe amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower houſe took umbrage at the novelty: They pretended that theſe amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not ſuch a frivolous objection from the gravity of the houſe; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which ſeemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any ſatisfaction[z].

AN application was made, by way of petition, to the queen from the lower houſe, againſt monopolies; an abuſe which had ariſen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general anſwer, for which they returned their thankful ac-

[y] D'Ewes, p. 539, 540. 580. 585. Townſend, p. 93, 94, 95.
[z] D'Ewes, p. 576, 577.

know-

knowledgments[a]. But not to give them too much encouragement in ſuch applications, ſhe told them, in the ſpeech which ſhe delivered at their diſſolution, "That with regard to theſe patents, ſhe hoped that "her dutiful and loving ſubjects would not take "away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in "her garden, and the principal and head pearl in "her crown and diadem; but that they would ra- "ther leave theſe matters to her diſpoſal[b]." The commons alſo took notice, this ſeſſion, of ſome tranſactions in the court of high commiſſion; but not till they had previouſly obtained permiſſion from her majeſty to that purpoſe[c].

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Elizabeth had reaſon to foreſee that parliamentary ſupplies would now become more neceſſary to her than ever; and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negotiation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that if poſſible a general pacification might be made by common agreement. Theſe two powers ſent ambaſſadors to France in order to remonſtrate againſt peace; the queen, ſir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Juſtin Naſſau, aud John Barnevelt. Henry ſaid to theſe miniſters, That his early education had been amidſt war and danger, and he had paſſed the whole courſe of his life either in arms or in military preparations: That after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a courſe of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to ſuch a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him

[a] D'Ewes, p. 570. 573. [b] Ibid. p. 547.
[c] Ibid. p. 557, 558.

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or to his allies: That no private interests of his own, not even those of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not entirely conformable to the wishes of all his confederates: That his kingdom, torn with the convulsions and civil wars of near half a century, required some interval of repose, ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, much more support its allies: That after the minds of his subjects were composed to tranquillity, and accustomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were restored, France, instead of being a burden, as at present, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual succour, and amply to repay them all the assistance which she had received during her calamities: And that, if the ambition of Spain would not at present grant them such terms as they should think reasonable, he hoped that in a little time he should attain such a situation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more decisive authority, in their behalf.

The ambassadors were sensible that these reasons were not feigned; and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The States knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their final ruin; and having received private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance both of men and money, they were well pleased to remain on terms of amity with him. His greatest concern was to give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial esteem for that princess, a sympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours which he had received from her during his greatest difficulties: And he used every

expedient

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expedient to apologize and atone for that meaſure which neceſſity extorted from him. But as Spain refuſed to treat with the Dutch as a free ſtate, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himſelf obliged to conclude at Vervins a ſeparate peace, by which he recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured to himſelf leiſure to purſue the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wiſe government, he raiſed France from the deſolation and miſery in which ſhe was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than ſhe had ever before enjoyed.

Peace of Vervins.

THE queen knew that ſhe could alſo, whenever ſhe pleaſed, finiſh the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himſelf from an enemy who had foiled him in every conteſt, and who ſtill had it ſo much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wiſeſt counſellers, particularly the treaſurer, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; and ſet before her the advantages of tranquillity, ſecurity, and frugality, as more conſiderable than any ſucceſs which could attend the greateſt victories. But this high-ſpirited princeſs, though at firſt adverſe to war, ſeemed now to have attained ſuch an aſcendant over the enemy, that ſhe was unwilling to ſtop the courſe of her proſperous fortune. She conſidered that her ſituation and her paſt victories had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and the war muſt thenceforth be conducted by ſudden enterpriſes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority: That the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, opened to her the view of the moſt durable advantages; and the yearly return of his

 treaſure

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treasure by sea afforded a continual prospect of important, though more temporary, successes: That, after his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch: And that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe as well as dishonourable to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

The earl of Essex.

THESE reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalship between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities, he would have so riveted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governour for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation;

and

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and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a paſſionate expreſſion ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore that he would not bear ſuch uſage, were it from Henry VIII. himſelf; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion, by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country: But Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour which he had received; and ſeemed to think that an inſult which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. "If the vileſt of all indignities," ſaid he, "is done me, does religion enforce me to "ſue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it im-"piety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? "Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly "power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never "ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's "fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that "mean to make their profit of princes, ſhew no "ſenſe of princes' injuries: Let *them* acknowledge "an infinite abſoluteneſs on earth, that do not be-"lieve an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven" (alluding probably to the character and conduct of ſir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety): "As for me," continued he, "I have re-"ceived wrong, I feel it: My cauſe is good, I "know it; and whatſoever happens, all the powers "on earth can never exert more ſtrength and con-"ſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering "every thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon "me. Your lordſhip, in the beginning of your "letter, makes me a player, and yourſelf a looker-

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THIS spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends; and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it: Yet, notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. 4th Aug. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: Virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best

d See note [II] at the end of the volume.

for filling them. Of all the queen's miniſters he alone left a conſiderable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preſerved by frugality. CHAP. XLIII. 1598.

THE laſt act of this able miniſter was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in ſome meaſure deſerted by the king of France, were glad to preſerve the queen's alliance, by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now ſettled at eight hundred thouſand pounds: Of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a-year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt ſhould be extinguiſhed. They engaged alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated, that if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; and that in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to her's [e]. By this treaty the queen was eaſed of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. 8th Aug.

SOON after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loſs of ſo wiſe and faithful a miniſter, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languiſhing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, deſirous of an accommodation with his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions neceſſary for that purpoſe, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the

[e] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 340.

title

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title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL. THE TANJORE

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State of Ireland——Tyrone's rebellion——Essex sent over to Ireland——His ill success——Returns to England——Is disgraced——His intrigues——His insurrection——His trial and execution——French affairs——Mountjoy's success in Ireland——Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish——A parliament——Tyrone's submission——Queen's sickness—and death—and character.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. State of Ireland.

THOUGH the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives: And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal combination or policy of the Irish [a].

Most of the English institutions likewise by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

[a] Sir J. Davies, p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

The

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The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project, whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious; neglected all other enterprises, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: Want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people.

But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous [b].

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, inlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to

[b] Sir J. Davies, p. 102, 103, &c.

their

their own profit. Separate jurifdictions and principalities were eftablifhed by thefe lordly conquerors: The power of peace and war was affumed: Military law was exercifed over the Irifh, whom they fubdued; and by degrees over the Englifh, by whofe affiftance they conquered: And, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the Englifh inftitutions lefs favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irifh, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country[c].

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent ftate remained ftill in that abject condition, into which the northern and weftern parts of Europe were funk, before they received civility and flavery from the refined policy and irrefiftible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the fixteenth century, when every chriftian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that ifland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile foil, acceffible in its fituation, poffeffed of innumerable harbours, was ftill, notwithftanding thefe advantages, inhabited by a people whofe cuftoms and manners approached nearer thofe of favages than of barbarians[d].

As the rudenefs and ignorance of the Irifh were extreme, they were funk below the reach of that curiofity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been feized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious difputes, with which they were ftill fo violently agitated. The ancient fuperftition, the practices and obfervances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, ftill maintained an unfhaken empire over them; and the example alone of the Englifh was fufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and

[c] Sir J. Davies, p. 133, 134, &c.
[d] See Spencer's Account of Ireland, throughout.

difcon-

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

THE animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practised by their ancestors [d].

THE usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a-year [e]: The queen, though with much repining [f], commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England: And with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand [g]. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections, which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

IN 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future [h]. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being

[d] Camden, p. 457. [e] Memoirs of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 86. [f] Cox, p. 342. Sidney, vol. i. p. 85. 200. [g] Camden, p. 542. Sidney, vol. i. p. 65. 109. 183, 184. [h] Camden, p. 385. 391.

pushed

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pushed by sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders, who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion [i]. Though so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accustomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raised by former excesses [k]. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have restored to him, and who assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her seeking [l].

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns [m]; and he possessed his authority eleven years, during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had become inveterate among the people. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, descended from the only family established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty

[i] Camden, p. 409.
[l] Ibid. p. 321.
[k] Ibid. p. 409. Cox, p. 324.
[m] Cox, p. 350.

to

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to the English crown[n]. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and, as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign[o]. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Gray, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland; and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals[p]. The queen, finding Ireland so burthensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures: But that enterprise proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the

[n] Camden, p. 424. [o] Ibid. p. 430. Cox, p. 354. [p] Stowe, p. 720.

vexation

vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants[q]. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585 by sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested[r]. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

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Tyrone's rebellion.

HUGH O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue which their disorderly course of life requires, and which, notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the

[q] Camden, p. 566. [r] Nanton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 203.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet, trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: He procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition: And having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expence requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives rendered sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking

taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty [s].

THE English council were now sensible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporising arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself [t]; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment which must remove him from court, and prevent him from cul-

[s] Cox, p. 415.

[t] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

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tivating that perfonal inclination which the queen fo vifibly bore him [u]. His enemies hoped, that if by his abfence fhe had once leifure to forget the charms of his perfon and converfation, his impatient and lofty demeanor would foon difguft a princefs who ufually exacted fuch profound fubmiffion and implicit obedience from all her fervants. But Effex was incapable of entering into fuch cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely defirous of fubduing the Irifh rebels, and who was much prepoffeffed in favour of Effex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, fhe granted him by his patent more extenfive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finifhing the war as he pleafed, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the moft confiderable employments of the kingdom [x]. And to enfure him of fuccefs, fhe levied a numerous army of fixteen thoufand foot, and thirteen hundred horfe, which fhe afterwards augmented to twenty thoufand foot and two thoufand horfe: A force which, it was apprehended, would be able in one campaign to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conqueft of Ireland. Nor did Effex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, fir Robert Cecil, fir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obftacles in the way of thefe preparations; but hoped that the higher the queen's expectations of fuccefs were raifed, the more difficult it would be for the event to correfpond to them. In a like view, they rather feconded than oppofed thofe exalted encomiums, which Effex's numerous and fanguine friends difperfed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generofity,

Effex fent over to Ireland.

[u] Cabala, p. 79. [x] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

and

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and his noble birth; nor were they difpleafed to obferve that paffionate fondnefs which the people every where expreffed for this nobleman. Thefe artful politicians had ftudied his character; and finding that his open and undaunted fpirit, if taught temper and referve from oppofition, muft become invincible, they refolved rather to give full breath to thofe fails which were already too much expanded, and to pufh him upon dangers of which he feemed to make fuch fmall account[y]. And the better to make advantage of his indifcretions, fpies were fet upon all his actions and even expreffions; and his vehement fpirit, which, while he was in the midft of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with difguife, could not fail, after he thought himfelf furrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant fufpicions and conftructions.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his perfon, had attached themfelves to his fortunes, and fought fame and military experience under fo renowned a commander. The firft act of authority which he exercifed after his arrival in Ireland, was an indifcretion, but of the generous kind; and in both thefe refpects fuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horfe; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's difpleafure, by fecretly marrying without her confent, and whom fhe had therefore enjoined Effex not to employ in any command under him. She no fooner heard of this inftance of difobedience, than fhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commiffion to Southampton.

y Camden. Ofborne, p. 371.

But

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. But Essex, who had imagined that some reasons which he opposed to her first injunctions, had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders [z]; and it was not till she reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

His ill success. Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprise. He had always while in England blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprises, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces [a]. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprise, and that as the morasses in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not as yet be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood [b]: But the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended [c].

Essex obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces:

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 421. 451. [a] Ibid. p. 431. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512. [b] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 448. [c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 140.

But

But as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated: For though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprises against lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise: And as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men[d]. But this act of severity, though necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and increased their aversion to the service.

The queen was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprises; and was still more surprised that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors

[d] Cox, p. 421.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599. and O'Mores, whom he forced to a ſubmiſſion: But, on his return to Dublin, he found the army ſo much diminiſhed, that he wrote to the Engliſh council an account of its condition, and informed them, that if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thouſand men, it would be impoſſible for him this ſeaſon to attempt any thing againſt Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately ſent over the number demanded[e]; and Eſſex began at laſt to aſſemble his forces for the expedition into Ulſter. The army was ſo averſe to this enterpriſe, and ſo terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited ſickneſs, many of them deſerted[f]; and Eſſex found, that after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, he could ſcarcely lead four thouſand men againſt the rebels. He marched, however, with this ſmall army; but was ſoon ſenſible, that in ſo advanced a ſeaſon, it would be impoſſible for him to effect any thing againſt an enemy who, though ſuperior in number, was determined to avoid every deciſive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a meſſage ſent him by Tyrone, who deſired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpoſe. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his ſaddle; but Eſſex ſtood on the oppoſite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great ſubmiſſion to the lord lieutenant, a ceſſation of arms was concluded to the firſt of May, renewable from ſix weeks to ſix weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning[g]. Eſſex alſo received from Tyrone propoſals for a peace, in which that rebel had inſerted many unreaſonable and exorbitant conditions: And there appeared afterwards ſome rea-

[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430. Cox, p. 421.
[f] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 112, 113. [g] Ibid. p. 125.

ſon

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ſon to ſuſpect that he had here commenced a very unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the enemy [h].

So unexpected an iſſue of an enterpriſe, the greateſt and moſt expenſive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and this diſguſt was much augmented by other circumſtances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peeviſh and impatient expreſſions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies ſhould be believed againſt him, and diſcovering ſymptoms of a mind equally haughty and diſcontented. She took care to inform him of her diſſatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, ſir Robert Cecil, to the office of maſter of the wards, an office to which he himſelf aſpired: And dreading that, if he remained any longer abſent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he haſtily embraced a reſolution which, he knew, had once ſucceeded with the earl of Leiceſter, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leiceſter, being informed while in the Low Countries that his miſtreſs was extremely diſpleaſed with his conduct, diſobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his preſence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and inſinuation, diſappointed all the expectations of his enemies [i]. Eſſex, therefore, weighing more the ſimilarity of circumſtances than the difference of character between himſelf and Leiceſter, immediately ſet out for England; and making ſpeedy journies, he arrived at court before any one was in the leaſt appriſed of his intentions [k]. Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened

Returns to England.

[h] Winwood, vol. i. p. 307. State Trials. Bacon. vol. iv. p. 514. 535. 537. [i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 453. [k] Winwood, vol. i. p. 118.

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up ſtairs to the preſence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; where he was ſo graciouſly received that, on his departure, he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God that though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home[1].

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the reſult of her ſurpriſe, and of the momentary ſatiſfaction which ſhe felt on the ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: After ſhe had leiſure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and ſhe thought it neceſſary, by ſome ſevere diſcipline, to ſubdue that haughty imperious ſpirit, who, preſuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engroſs all her favour, and to act, in the moſt important affairs, without regard to her orders and inſtructions. When Eſſex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him ſequeſtered from all company, even from that of his counteſs, nor was ſo much as the intercourſe of letters permitted between them. Eſſex dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment: He profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the queen's will: Declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and buſineſs: But though he affected to be ſo entirely cured of his aſpiring ambition, the vexation of this diſappointment, and

Is diſgraced.

1 Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

of

of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty ſpirit, and he fell into a diſtemper which ſeemed to put his life in danger. CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him[m]; and when ſhe heard of his ſickneſs, ſhe was not a little alarmed with his ſituation. She ordered eight phyſicians of the beſt reputation and experience to conſult of his caſe; and being informed that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth, and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, which ſhe probably deemed of ſtill greater virtue; that if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. The byſtanders, who carefully obſerved her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing theſe words, her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears[n].

When the ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to the faction which had declared their oppoſition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the moſt violent as well as the moſt ambitious of his enemies, was ſo affected with the appearance of this ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the ſame ſalve to his wound, and to ſend him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery[o].

1600. The medicine which the queen adminiſtered to theſe aſpiring rivals was ſucceſsful with both; and Eſſex being now allowed the company of his counteſs, and having entertained more promiſing hopes of his future fortunes, was ſo much reſtored in his health, as to be thought paſt danger. A belief was

[m] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445. Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 196. [n] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 151. [o] Ibid. p. 139.

inſtilled

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inftilled into Elizabeth, that his diftemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compaffion [p]; and fhe relapfed into her former rigour againft him. He wrote her a letter, and fent her a rich present on New-Year's day; as was ufual with the courtiers at that time: She read the letter, but rejected the prefent [q]. After fome interval, however, of feverity, fhe allowed him to retire to his own houfe: And though he remained ftill under cuftody, and was fequeftered from all company, he was fo grateful for this mark of lenity, that he fent her a letter of thanks on the occafion. "This farther degree "of goodnefs," faid he, "doth found in my ears "as if your majefty fpake thefe words, *Die not,* "*Effex; for though I punifh thine offence, and hum-* "*ble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be ferved* "*again by thee.* My proftrate foul makes this "anfwer: *I hope for that bleffed day.* And in ex-"pectation of it, all my afflictions of body and "mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne "by me [r]." The countefs of Effex, daughter of fir Francis Walfingham, poffeffed, as well as her hufband, a refined tafte in literature; and the chief confolation which Effex enjoyed during this period of anxiety and expectation, confifted in her company, and in reading with her thofe inftructive and entertaining authors, which, even during the time of his greateft profperity, he had never entirely neglected.

THERE were feveral incidents which kept alive the queen's anger againft Effex. Every account which fhe received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his mifconduct in that government, and of the infignificant purpofes to which he had employed fo much force and treafure. Tyrone, fo far from being quelled, had thought proper, in lefs than three months, to break the

[p] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 153. [q] Ibid. p. 155, 156.
[r] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

truce;

1600.

truce; and joining with O'Donnel, and other rebels, had over-run almoſt the whole kingdom. He boaſted that he was certain of receiving a ſupply of men, money, and arms from Spain: He pretended to be champion of the catholic religion: And he openly exulted in the preſent of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII. in order to encourage him in the proſecution of ſo good a cauſe, had conſecrated, and had conferred upon him[s]. The queen, that ſhe might check his progreſs, returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Eſſex, and deſired his return to the government of Ireland, did at firſt very earneſty excuſe himſelf, on account of his bad ſtate of health, ſhe obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the iſland almoſt in a deſperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was ſo little diſcouraged, that he immediately advanced againſt Tyrone in Ulſter. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief ſeat of the rebels: He fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Iriſh: He chaſed them from the field, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the woods and moraſſes: He employed, with equal ſucceſs, ſir George Carew in Munſter: And by theſe promiſing enterpriſes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that iſland.

As the compariſon of Mountjoy's adminiſtration with that of Eſſex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, ſhe received additional diſguſt from the partiality of the people, who, prepoſſeſſed with an extravagant idea of Eſſex's merit, complained of the injuſtice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were ſecretly diſperſed againſt Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: And his popularity, which was always great, ſeemed

[s] Camden, p. 617.

rather

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rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the Star-Chamber for his offences: But her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland: His making Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deserting the enterprise against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majesty's commands. He also exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them[t]. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, son of sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology[u]; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. He said,

[t] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.
[u] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200.

that,

that, having ſevered himſelf from the world, and abjured all ſentiments of ambition, he had no ſcruple to confeſs every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward ſorrow for his offences againſt her majeſty was ſo profound, that it exceeded all his outward croſſes and afflictions, nor had he any ſcruple of ſubmitting to a public confeſſion of whatever ſhe had been pleaſed to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he retained only one reſerve, which he never would relinquiſh but with his life, the aſſertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earneſt deſire ever to perform to her majeſty the beſt ſervice which his poor abilities would permit; and that if this ſentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquieſced in any condemnation or ſentence which they could pronounce againſt him. This ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſo much eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience [x]. All the privy counſellors, in giving their judgment, made no ſcruple of doing the earl juſtice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the ſentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council aſſented) was in theſe words: "If this "cauſe," ſaid he, "had been heard in the Star-"Chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as "great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head "in that court, together with perpetual confine-"ment in that priſon which belongeth to a man of "his quality, the Tower. But ſince we are now "in another place, and in a courſe of favour, my "cenſure is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to exe-"cute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl

x Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

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"marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ord-"nance; and to return to his own houſe, there to "continue a priſoner till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty "to releaſe this and all the reſt of his ſentence[y]." The earl of Cumberland made a ſlight oppoſition to this ſentence; and ſaid, that if he thought it would ſtand, he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it ſomewhat ſevere; and that any commander in chief might eaſily incur a like penalty. But however, added he, in confidence of her majeſty's mercy, I agree with the reſt. The earl of Worceſter delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verſes; importing, that, where the Gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuſe for tranſgreſſions againſt the Divinity.

Bacon, ſo much diſtinguiſhed afterwards by his high offices, and ſtill more by his profound genius for the ſciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and couſin-german to the ſecretary: But notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with ſo little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profeſſion. But Eſſex, who could diſtinguiſh merit, and who paſſionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendſhip with Bacon; had zealouſly attempted, though without ſucceſs, to procure him the office of ſolicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the diſappointment, had conferred on him a preſent of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds[z]. The public could ill excuſe Bacon's appearance before the council, againſt ſo munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: But ſhe was ſo well pleaſed

y Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.
z Cabala, p. 78.

with

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with his behaviour, that ſhe impoſed on him a new taſk, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the public of the juſtice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmneſs of character more than humanity, gave to the whole tranſaction the moſt favourable turn for Eſſex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expreſſion, the dutiful ſubmiſſion which that nobleman diſcovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, ſhe ſmiled at that paſſage, and obſerved to Bacon, that old love, ſhe ſaw, could not eaſily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped ſhe meant that of herſelf[a].

All the world indeed expected that Eſſex would ſoon be reinſtated in his former credit[b]; perhaps, as is uſual in reconcilements founded on inclination, would acquire an additional aſcendant over the queen, and after all his diſgraces would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope when they ſaw that, though he was ſtill prohibited from appearing at court[c], he was continued in his office of maſter of horſe, and was reſtored to his liberty, and that all his friends had acceſs to him. Eſſex himſelf ſeemed determined to perſevere in that conduct which had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful, and which the queen, by all this diſcipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: He wrote to her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulneſs, till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence, which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment: And that he had now reſolved to make amends for his paſt errors, to retire into a country ſolitude, and ſay with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beaſts of

[a] Cabala, p. 83. [b] Winwood, vol. i. p. 254.
[c] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

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" the field; let me eat grafs as an ox, and be wet " with the dew of heaven; till it fhall pleafe the " queen to reftore me to my underftanding." The queen was much pleafed with thefe fentiments, and replied, that fhe heartily wifhed his actions might correfpond with his expreffions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting fhe fhould now make fome experiment of his fubmiffion; that her father would never have pardoned fo much obftinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced fuch good effects, fhe fhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiftry [d].

The earl of Effex poffeffed a monopoly of fweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he confidered this event as the critical circumftance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinftated in credit and authority [e]. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper fomewhat haughty and fevere; and being continually furrounded with Effex's enemies, means were found to perfuade her, that his lofty fpirit was not yet fufficiently fubdued, and that he muft undergo this farther trial, before he could again be fafely received into favour. She therefore denied his requeft; and even added, in a contemptuous ftyle, that an ungovernable beaft muft be ftinted in his provender [f].

His intrigues.

This rigour, pufhed one ftep too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the fource of infinite forrow and vexation to the queen herfelf. Effex, who had with great difficulty fo long fubdued his proud fpirit, and whofe patience was now exhaufted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burft at once all reftraints of fubmiffion and of prudence, and determined to feek relief, by proceeding to the utmoft extremities againft

[d] Camden, p. 628. [e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 472.
[f] Camden, p. 628.

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his enemies. Even during his greateſt favour he had ever been accuſtomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his ſovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was ſometimes ſucceſsful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her[g]. But being now reduced to deſpair, he gave entire reins to his violent diſpoſition, and threw off all appearance of duty and reſpect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already poſſeſſed, he practiſed anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increaſe the general good-will by a hoſpitable manner of life, little ſuited to his ſituation and circumſtances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profeſſion; and he now entertained, by additional careſſes and civilities, a friendſhip with all deſperate adventurers, whoſe attachment he hoped might, in his preſent views, prove ſerviceable to him. He ſecretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief truſt lay in the puritans, whom he openly careſſed, and whoſe manners he ſeemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect to reſort to Eſſex-houſe; he had daily prayers and ſermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend thoſe pious exerciſes. Such was the diſpoſition now beginning to prevail among the Engliſh, that, inſtead of feaſting and public ſpectacles, the methods anciently practiſed to gain the populace, nothing ſo effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as theſe fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their ſermons the doctrine of reſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for thoſe ſeditious projects which Eſſex was ſecretly meditating[h].

[g] Cabala, p. 79.
[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630.

BUT

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But the greateſt imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openneſs of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to ſucceed in ſuch difficult and dangerous enterpriſes. He indulged himſelf in great liberties of ſpeech, and was even heard to ſay of the queen, that ſhe was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body [i]. Some court ladies, whoſe favours Eſſex had formerly neglected, carried her theſe ſtories, and incenſed her to a high degree againſt him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though ſhe was now approaching to her ſeventieth year, ſhe allowed her courtiers [k] and even foreign ambaſſadors [l], to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good ſenſe been able to cure her of this prepoſterous vanity [m].

There was alſo an expedient employed by Eſſex, which, if poſſible, was more provoking to the queen than thoſe ſarcaſms on her age and deformity; and that was, his ſecret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and ſucceſſor. That prince had this year very narrowly eſcaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conſpiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this diſagreeable circumſtance, that the obſtinate eccleſiaſtics perſiſted, in ſpite of the moſt inconteſtible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no ſuch conſpiracy. James, haraſſed with his turbulent and factious ſubjects, caſt a wiſhful eye to the ſucceſſion of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his deſire increaſed of mounting that throne, on which, beſides acquiring a great addition of power and ſplendour, he hoped to govern a

[i] Camden, p. 629. Oſborne, p. 397. Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliament, p. 43.
[k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 442, 443.
[l] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 171.
[m] See note [KK] at the end of the volume.

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people ſo much more tractable and ſubmiſſive. He negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to enſure himſelf friends and partiſans: He even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himſelf in no poſitive promiſe, he flattered the catholics with hopes that, in the event of his ſucceſſion, they might expect ſome more liberty than was at preſent indulged them. Elizabeth was the only ſovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of ſucceſſion: He knew that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, ſhe never could bear the proſpect of her own death without horror, and was determined ſtill to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her.

Essex was deſcended by females from the royal family; and ſome of his ſanguine partiſans had been ſo imprudent as to mention his name among thoſe of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he ſecretly ſent into Scotland, to aſſure James, that ſo far from entertaining ſuch ambitious views, he was determined to uſe every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of ſucceſſion. James willingly hearkened to this propoſal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Eſſex intended to employ. Eſſex had communicated his ſcheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a perſon of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her ſucceſſor[n]. And ſuch was Eſſex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he ſtill

[n] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600. endeavoured to perſuade Mountjoy not to deſiſt from the project: But the deputy, who thought that ſuch violence, though it might be prudent, and even juſtifiable, when ſupported by a ſovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be raſh and criminal, if attempted by ſubjects, abſolutely refuſed his concurrence. The correſpondence, however, between Eſſex and the court of Scotland was ſtill conducted with great ſecrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, beſides conciliating the favour of James, repreſented all his own adverſaries as enemies to that prince's ſucceſſion, and as men entirely devoted to the intereſts of Spain, and partiſans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

THE Infanta and the archduke Albert had made ſome advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was choſen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the Engliſh reſident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were ſent thither as ambaſſadors from England; 26th May. and negotiated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, miniſters of Spain, and the archduke: But the conferences were ſoon broken off by diſputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European ſtates England had ever been allowed the precedency above Caſtile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms of which the Spaniſh monarchy was compoſed; and Elizabeth inſiſted, that this ancient right was not loſt on account of the junction of theſe ſtates, and that that monarchy in its preſent ſituation, though it ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in extent as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms as well as noble families. That ſhe might ſhew, however, a pacific diſpoſition, ſhe was content to yield to an equality; but the Spaniſh miniſters, as their nation had always diſputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in

in the conference, till their ſuperiority of rank were acknowledged *. During the preparations for this abortive negotiation the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurſt, treaſurer, and ſecretary Cecil, had diſcovered their inclination to peace; but as the Engliſh nation, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and ſanguine in their hopes of plunder and conqueſt, were in general averſe to that meaſure, it was eaſy for a perſon ſo popular as Eſſex to infuſe into the multitude an opinion, that theſe miniſters had ſacrificed the intereſts of their country to Spain, and would even make no ſcruple of receiving a ſovereign from that hoſtile nation.

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But Eſſex, not content with theſe arts for decrying his adverſaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them, chiefly inſtigated by Cuffe, his ſecretary, a man of a bold and arrogant ſpirit, who had acquired a great aſcendant over his patron. A ſelect council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-houſe, and were compoſed of ſir Charles Davers, to whom the houſe belonged, the earl of Southampton, ſir Ferdinando Gorges, ſir Chriſtopher Blount, ſir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Eſſex, who boaſted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note at his devotion, and who truſted ſtill more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his aſſociates thoſe ſecret deſigns with which his confidence in ſo powerful a party had inſpired him. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and aſked their opinion whether he had beſt begin with ſeizing the palace or the Tower, or ſet out with making himſelf maſter at once of both places. The firſt enterpriſe being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that ſir

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* Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 186—226.

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Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; that Davies should seize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partisans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should with common consent settle a new plan of government[p].

7th Feb.

WHILE these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sacville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement: He therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition, and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known

p Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542, 543.

to

to have a great attachment to the earl. Eſſex declared againſt the firſt expedient, and profeſſed himſelf determined to undergo any fate rather than ſubmit to live the life of a fugitive. To ſeize the palace ſeemed impracticable, without more preparations; eſpecially as the queen ſeemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had uſed the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themſelves to the city; and, while the prudence and feaſibility of this reſolution was under debate, a perſon arrived, who, as if he had received a commiſſion for the purpoſe, gave them aſſurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might ſecurely reſt any project on that foundation. The popularity of Eſſex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that with no other aſſiſtance than the good-will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wiſdom, ſupported by vigour, and concurring with the general ſentiments of the nation. The wild project of raiſing the city was immediately reſolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emiſſaries were diſpatched to all Eſſex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid ſchemes againſt his life, and entreating their preſence and aſſiſtance.

NEXT day there appeared at Eſſex-houſe the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Eſſex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies expoſed him. To ſome he ſaid, that he would throw himſelf at the queen's feet, and crave her juſtice and protection: To others, he boaſted of his intereſt in the city, and affirmed, that whatever might happen, this 8th Feb.

reſource

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs, by means of intelligence conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh, by sir Ferdinando Gorges; and, having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the earl of Worcester, sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced, in their turn, by the angry multitude who surrounded them, the earl, who found that matters were past recal, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded to the house of Smith the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one shewed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in his passage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of sir

John

John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to whom he bore great friendship, was killed with two or three of the Londoners;, and the earl himself, attended by a few of his partisans (for the greater part began secretly to withdraw themselves), retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He there found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair; and appeared determined, in prosecution of lord Sandy's advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioner: But after some parley, and after demanding in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing [q].

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19th Feb. His trial.

THE queen, who during all this commotion had behaved with as great tranquillity and security as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was nowise concerned [r], soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurst acted as lord steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: The confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of

[q] Camden, p. 632. [r] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

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that age. Eſſex's beſt friends were ſcandaliſed at his aſſurance in inſiſting ſo poſitively on his innocence, and the goodneſs of his intentions; and ſtill more at his vindictive diſpoſition, in acccuſing, without any appearance of reaſon, ſecretary Cecil as a partiſan of the Infanta's title. The ſecretary, who had expected this charge, ſtepped into the court and challenged Eſſex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous [s]. When ſentence was pronounced, Eſſex ſpoke like a man who expected nothing but death: But he added, that he ſhould be ſorry if he were repreſented to the queen as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency; though he ſhould not, he believed, make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive: He entreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner as excited compaſſion in every one.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance in Eſſex's trial was Bacon's appearance againſt him. He was none of the crown lawyers; ſo was not obliged by his office to aſſiſt at this trial: Yet did he not ſcruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whoſe generoſity he had often experienced. He compared Eſſex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adverſaries, to that of Piſiſtratus the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his perſon, by whoſe aſſiſtance he afterwards ſubdued the liberties of his country.

After Eſſex had paſſed ſome days in the ſolitude and reflections of a priſon, his proud heart was at laſt ſubdued, not by the fear of death, but by the

[s] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 530.

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ſentiments of religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the inſtrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and conſideration. His ſpiritual directors perſuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of heaven, unleſs he made a full confeſſion of his diſloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal deſigns, as well as of his correſpondence with the king of Scots. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends, ſuch as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in theſe conſpiracies; and he ſought to pacify his preſent remorſe by making ſuch atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blamable than thoſe attempts themſelves which were the objects of his penitence [t]. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accuſed of a correſpondence with the conſpirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never aſſented to the propoſals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treaſon; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the ſtrongeſt reluctance [u]. Nevil was thrown into priſon, and underwent a ſevere perſecution: But, as the queen found Mountjoy an able and ſucceſsful commander, ſhe continued him in his government, and ſacrificed her reſentment to the public ſervice.

ELIZABETH affected extremely the praiſe of clemency; and in every great example which ſhe had made during her reign, ſhe had always appeared full of reluctance and heſitation: But the preſent ſituation of Eſſex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the moſt real agitation and irreſolution. She felt a perpetual combat between reſentment and inclination, pride and compaſſion, the care of her own ſafety and concern for her fa-

[t] Winwood, vol. i. p. 300. [u] Ibid. vol. i. p. 302.

vourite;

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vourite; and her ſituation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity than that to which Eſſex himſelf was reduced. She ſigned the warrant for his execution; ſhe countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death; ſhe felt a new return of tenderneſs. Eſſex's enemies told her, that he himſelf deſired to die, and had aſſured her, that ſhe could never be in ſafety while he lived: It is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which ſhe had ſo long indulged towards the unhappy priſoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart againſt him was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in never making, as ſhe hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and ſhe finally gave her conſent to his execution. He diſcovered at his death ſymptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. The execution was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own requeſt. He was apprehenſive, he ſaid, leſt the favour and compaſſion of the people would too much raiſe his heart in thoſe moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper ſentiment which he could indulge[x]. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of ſo melancholy a ſpectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpoſe, and who beheld Eſſex's execution from a window, increaſed much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: It was thought that his ſole intention was to feaſt his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology which he could make for ſo ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animoſity with which he urged on Eſſex's fate, even when Cecil relented[y], were

5th Feb. And execution.

[x] Dr. Barlow's ſermon on Eſſex's execution. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

[y] Murdin, p. 811.

ſtill

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ſtill regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

The earl of Eſſex was but thirty-four years of age, when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, lament the inconſtancy of human nature, that a perſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and induſtry, ſhould, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved not only himſelf but many of his friends in utter ruin. The queen's tenderneſs and paſſion for him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours which he attained, ſeems, on the whole, the chief circumſtance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in ſo advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong in her, thoſe of the ſovereign had ſtill, in the end, appeared predominant.

Some of Eſſex's aſſociates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of theſe, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the reſt; being perſuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendſhip to that nobleman, and their care of his ſafety; and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions,

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. tentions. Southampton's life was ſaved with great difficulty. But he was detained in priſon during the remainder of this reign.

THE king of Scots, apprehenſive leſt his correſpondence with Eſſex might have been diſcovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, ſent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloſs as ambaſſadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her eſcape from the late inſurrection and conſpiracy. They were alſo ordered to make ſecret inquiry whether any meaſures had been taken by her for excluding him from the ſucceſſion, as well as to diſcover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counſellors, in caſe of the queen's demiſe [z]. They found the diſpoſitions of men as favourable as they could wiſh; and they even entered into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, whoſe influence, after the fall of Eſſex, was now uncontrolled [a], and who was reſolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the ſucceſſor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: But he afterwards aſſerted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correſpondence; becauſe the king of Scots, ſecure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by thoſe connections with the Engliſh miniſtry, was the leſs likely to give any diſturbance to the preſent ſovereign. He alſo perſuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time ſhould open to him the inheritance of the crown, without puſhing his friends on deſperate enterpriſes, which would totally incapacitate them from ſerving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of diſpoſition, eaſily inclined him to embrace that reſolution [b]; and in this manner the minds of the

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 510. [a] Oſborne, p. 615. [b] Spotſwood, p. 471, 472.

English

English were silently but universally disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of the Scottish line: The death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event. CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

THE French king, who was little prepossessed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland [c], made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil shewed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it [d]. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais; and the queen hearing of his intentions went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The king of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by sir Robert Sydney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring, about a business of importance, with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The marquess of Rosni, the king's favourite and prime minister, came to Dover in disguise; and the Memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princess had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the

French affairs.

[c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 352. [d] Spotswood, p. 471.

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erection of new ſtates on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria. She had even the prudence to foreſee the perils which might enſue from the aggrandiſement of her ally; and ſhe purpoſed to unite all the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one Republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier againſt the dangerous increaſe of the French as well as of the Spaniſh monarchy. Henry had himſelf long meditated ſuch a project againſt the Auſtrian family; and Roſni could not forbear expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, when he found that Elizabeth and his maſter, though they had never communicated their ſentiments on this ſubject, not only had entered into the ſame general views, but had alſo formed the ſame plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a ſituation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterpriſe; and Roſni ſatisfied the queen, that it would be neceſſary to poſtpone for ſome years their united attack on the houſe of Auſtria. He departed, filled with juſt admiration at the ſolidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatneſs of her mind; and he owns, that ſhe was entirely worthy of that high reputation which ſhe enjoyed in Europe.

The queen's magnanimity in forming ſuch extenſive projects was the more remarkable, as, beſides her having fallen ſo far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and ſucceſs, were ſtill in diſorder, and made a great diverſion of her forces. The expence, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her miniſters, taking advantage of her diſpoſition to frugality, propoſed to her an expedient of ſaving, which, though ſhe at firſt diſapproved of it, ſhe was at laſt induced to embrace. It was repreſented to her, that the great ſums of money remitted to Ireland for the pay of the Engliſh forces, came, by the neceſſary courſe of circulation, nto the hands of the rebels, and enabled

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bled them to buy abroad all neceſſary ſupplies of arms and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every uſeful commodity, they could not otherwiſe find means to purchaſe. It was therefore recommended to her, that ſhe ſhould pay her forces in baſe money; and it was aſſerted, that, beſides the great ſaving to the revenue, this ſpecies of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not paſs in any foreign market. Some of her wiſer counſellors maintained, that if the pay of the ſoldiers were raiſed in proportion, the Iriſh rebels would neceſſarily reap the ſame benefit from the baſe money, which would always be taken at a rate ſuitable to its value; if the pay were not raiſed, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would ſoon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income[e]. But Elizabeth, though ſhe juſtly valued herſelf on fixing the ſtandard of the Engliſh coin, much debaſed by her predeceſſors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was ſeduced by the ſpecious arguments employed by the treaſurer on this occaſion; and ſhe coined a great quantity of baſe money, which he made uſe of in the pay of her forces in Ireland[f].

Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland.

MOUNTJOY, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreſeeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them inſtantly into the field, and reſolved, by means of ſtrict diſcipline, and by keeping them employed againſt the enemy, to obviate thoſe inconveniences which were juſtly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortreſs at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Geniſes out of Lecale; he haraſſed Tyrone in Ulſter with inroads and leſſer expeditions; and by deſtroying every where, and during all ſeaſons, the proviſions

[e] Camden, p. 643. [f] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 414.

 of

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and having seized the monastery of Donnegal near Balishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel and the Irish. Nor was sir George Carew idle in the province of Munster. He seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England. He arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others. And having got a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and he put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and he marched with his army into Munster.

23d Sept. At last the Spaniards, under don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale; and sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely discontented. One chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by jury [g]; an institution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the support of that equity and liberty, for which the English laws are so justly celebrated. The Irish

[g] Camden, p. 644.

also

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alſo bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the opinion that they themſelves were deſcended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cauſe of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila aſſumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preſervation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to perſuade the people that Elizabeth was, by ſeveral bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Iriſh from the dominion of the devil [h]. Mountjoy found it neceſſary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total inſurrection of the Iriſh; and having collected his forces, he formed the ſiege of Kinſale by land; while ſir Richard Leviſon, with a ſmall ſquadron, blockaded it by ſea. He had no ſooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thouſand Spaniards under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo, who had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach ſir George Carew to oppoſe their progreſs. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Iriſh, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinſale. The deputy, informed of their deſign by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Leviſon with ſix hundred marines, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the paſſage of the enemy, leaving ſome cavalry to prevent a ſally from d'Aquila and the Spaniſh garriſon. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Iriſh and Spaniards, approached, he was ſurpriſed to find the Engliſh ſo well poſted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately ſounded a retreat: But the deputy gave orders to purſue

[h] Camden, p. 645.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked, and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men[i]. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnel made his escape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: He surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland.

The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burthensome on the queen's revenue; and besides the supplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very small, but which they ever regarded as mighty concessions, she had been obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and crown jewels[k], and exacting loans from the people[l]; in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a parliament; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing fast upon her, though she had lost much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex, insomuch that, when she appeared in public, she was not attended with the usual acclamations[m], yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by vigour, still remained as high and uncontrollable as ever.

Octob. 27. A parliament.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards

[i] Winwood, vol. i. p. 369. [k] D'Ewes, p. 629. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. p. 602. Osborne, p. 604.

propor-

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proportioned to their ſervices, had made uſe of an expedient which had been employed by her predeceſſor, but which had never been carried to ſuch extremes as under her adminiſtration. She granted her ſervants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and theſe patents they ſold to others, who were thereby enabled to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed, and who put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number and importance of thoſe commodities, which were thus aſſigned over to patentees. Currants, ſalt, iron, powder, cards, calf-ſkins, fells, pouldavies, ox-ſhin-bones, train-oil, liſts of cloth, pot-aſhes, anniſeeds, vinegar, ſea-coals, ſteel, aquavitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine-ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, tranſportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spaniſh wool, of Iriſh yarn: Theſe are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopoliſts [n]. When this liſt was read in the houſe, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread!* ſaid every one with aſtoniſhment: *Yes, I aſſure you,* replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament* [o]. Theſe monopoliſts were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that in ſome places they raiſed the price of ſalt from ſixteen-pence a buſhel, to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings [p]. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to ſecure themſelves againſt encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppreſs the people at pleaſure, and to exact money from ſuch as they thought proper to accuſe of interfering with their patent.

[n] D'Ewes, p. 648. 650. 652. [o] Ibid. p. 648.
[p] Ibid. p. 647.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601. patent [q]. The patentees of ſaltpetre having the power of entering into every houſe, and of committing what havoc they pleaſed in ſtables, cellars, or wherever they ſuſpected ſalt-petre might be gathered, commonly extorted money from thoſe who deſired to free themſelves from this damage or trouble [r]. And while all domeſtic intercourſe was thus reſtrained, leſt any ſcope ſhould remain for induſtry, almoſt every ſpecies of foreign commerce was confined to excluſive companies, who bought and ſold at any price that they themſelves thought proper to offer or exact.

These grievances, the moſt intolerable for the preſent, and the moſt pernicious in their conſequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the laſt parliament, and a petition had even been preſented to the queen complaining of the patents; but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in defending her monopoliſts againſt her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower houſe, aboliſhing all theſe monopolies; and as the former application had been unſucceſsful, a law was inſiſted on as the only certain expedient for correcting theſe abuſes. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for ſucceſs if they did not make application, in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner, to the queen's goodneſs and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the houſe, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the moſt extraordinary to ſuch as are prepoſſeſſed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty poſſeſſed under the adminiſtration of Elizabeth. It was aſſerted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a reſtraining

[q] D'Ewes, p. 644. 646. 652. [r] Ibid. p. 653.

power;

power; by her prerogative ſhe might ſet at liberty what was reſtrained by ſtatute or otherwiſe, and by her prerogative ſhe might reſtrain what was otherwiſe at liberty [s]: That the royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed, nor diſputed, nor examined [t]; and did not even admit of any limitation [u]: That abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſovereigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinity [x]: That it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or ſtatutes; ſince, by means of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could looſen herſelf at pleaſure [y]: And that even if a clauſe ſhould be annexed to a ſtatute, excluding her diſpenſing power, ſhe could firſt diſpenſe with that clauſe, and then with the ſtatute [z]. After all this diſcourſe, more worthy of a Turkiſh divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent idea of this aſſembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to ariſe, ſent for the ſpeaker, and deſired him to acquaint the houſe, that ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grievous and oppreſſive of theſe patents [a].

The houſe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary inſtance of the queen's goodneſs and condeſcenſion. A member ſaid, with tears in his eyes, that if a ſentence of everlaſting happineſs had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at preſent overwhelmed [b]. Another obſerved, that this meſſage from the ſacred perſon of the queen was a kind of goſpel or glad-tidings, and ought to be received as ſuch, and be written in the tablets of their hearts [c]. And it was farther remarked, that in the ſame manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another,

[s] D'Ewes, p. 644. 675. [t] Ibid. p. 644. 649. [u] Ibid. p. 646. 654. [x] Ibid. p. 649. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. p. 640, 646. [a] See note [LL] at the end of the volume. [b] D'Ewes, p. 654. [c] Ibid. p. 656.

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ther, ſo the queen herſelf was the only agent in their preſent proſperity and happineſs[d]. The houſe voted, That the ſpeaker, with a committee, ſhould aſk permiſſion to wait on her majeſty, and return thanks to her for her gracious conceſſions to her people.

When the ſpeaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themſelves on their knees; and remained in that poſture a conſiderable time, till ſhe thought proper to expreſs her deſire that they ſhould riſe[e]. The ſpeaker diſplayed the gratitude of the commons; becauſe her ſacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her bleſſed hands ever ſtretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he ſaid, in all duty and thankfulneſs acknowledged, that before they called, her *preventing grace* and *all-deſerving goodneſs* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could deſire, much leſs deſerve. He remarked, that the attribute which was moſt proper to God, to perform all he promiſeth, appertained alſo to her; and that ſhe was all truth, all conſtancy, and all goodneſs. And he concluded with theſe expreſſions, "Neither do we preſent our thanks in words, or "any outward ſign, which can be no ſufficient re-"tribution for ſo great goodneſs; but in all duty "and thankfulneſs, proſtrate at your feet, we pre-"ſent our moſt loyal and thankful hearts, even the "laſt drop of blood in our hearts, and the laſt "ſpirit of breath in our noſtrils, to be poured out, "to be breathed up for your ſafety[f]." The queen

[d] D'Ewes, p. 657.

[e] We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no one ſpoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then ſhe raiſed ſome with waving her hand. Nay, wherever ſhe turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her ſucceſſor firſt allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, ſo he relinquiſhed the appearance of deſpotiſm. Even when queen Elizabeth was abſent, thoſe who covered her table, though perſons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

[f] D'Ewes, p. 658, 659.

 heard

heard very patiently this ſpeech, in which ſhe was flattered in phraſes appropriated to the Supreme Being; and ſhe returned an anſwer full of ſuch expreſſions of tenderneſs towards her people, as ought to have appeared fulſome after the late inſtances of rigour which ſhe had employed, and from which nothing but neceſſity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding, in time, from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity and preſerved the affections of her people. 1601.

The commons granted her a ſupply quite unprecedented, of four ſubſidies and eight fifteenths; and they were ſo dutiful as to vote this ſupply before they received any ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of monopolies, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt and happineſs of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that conceſſion by keeping the ſupply in ſuſpenſe; ſo haughty was the queen's diſpoſition, that this appearance of conſtraint and jealouſy had been ſufficient to have produced a denial of all their requeſts, and to have forced her into ſome acts of authority ſtill more violent and arbitrary.

The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. 1602. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in ſo much trouble, by fomenting and aſſiſting the Iriſh rebellion, reſolved to give them employment at home; and ſhe fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under ſir Richard Leviſon, admiral, and ſir William Monſon, vice-admiral, whom ſhe ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, with part of the ſquadron, met the galleons loaded with treaſure; but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral alſo fell in with ſome rich ſhips; but they eſcaped for a like reaſon: And theſe two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove

entirely

CHAP. XLIV. 1602. entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra in Portugal, where they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle: There were eleven gallies stationed in it: And the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to surrender [g]. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats [h]: A sensible loss to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth [i].

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harassed the rebels on every side: He built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the country: The activity of sir Henry Docwray and sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: And many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. 1603. Tyrone himself made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him except he made an

[g] Monson, p. 181. [h] Camden, p. 647.

[i] This year the Spaniards began the siege of Ostend, which was bravely defended for five months by sir Francis Vere. The States then relieved him, by sending a new governor; and on the whole the siege lasted three years, and is computed to have cost the lives of a hundred thousand men.

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Tyrone's submission.

absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

Queen's sickness.

BUT Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: She had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed[k]: Some incidents happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution.

THE earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her

[k] See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negotiations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481. 505, 506, &c.

person,

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person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it recal her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: She shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but she never could,* she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: She even refused food and sustenance: And throwing herself on the floor, she remained sullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and

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and exiſtence an inſufferable burthen to her. Few words ſhe uttered; and they were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief, which ſhe cared not to reveal: But ſighs and groans were the chief vent which ſhe gave to her deſpondency, and which, though they diſcovered her ſorrows, were never able to eaſe or aſſuage them. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, much leſs to make trial of any remedies which they preſcribed to her[1]. Her anxious mind at laſt had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council, being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary, to know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered with a faint voice, that as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be, but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied, that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without farther ſtruggle or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

and death, 24th Mar.;

So dark a cloud overcaſt the evening of that day, which had ſhone out with a mighty luſtre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great perſonages in hiſtory who have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there ſcarcely is any whoſe reputation has been more certainly determined

and character.

[1] Strype, vol. iv. No. 276.

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mined by the unanimous consent of posterity: The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the

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the neighbouring nations: And though her enemies were the moſt powerful princes of Europe, the moſt active, the moſt enterpriſing, the leaſt ſcrupulous, ſhe was able by her vigour to make deep impreſſions on their ſtates: Her own greatneſs meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

THE wiſe miniſters and brave warriors who flouriſhed under her reign, ſhare the praiſe of her ſucceſs; but inſtead of leſſening the applauſe due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice; they were ſupported by her conſtancy; and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue aſcendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, ſhe remained equally miſtreſs: The force of the tender paſſions was great over her, but the force of her mind was ſtill ſuperior; and the combat which her victory viſibly coſt her, ſerves only to diſplay the firmneſs of her reſolution, and the loftineſs of her ambitious ſentiments.

THE fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and entruſted with the government of mankind. We

CHAP. XLIV. 1603. may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

APPENDIX III.

Government of England —— Revenues —— Commerce —— Military force —— Manufactures —— Learning.

THE party among us who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged their prejudices againſt the ſucceeding race of princes, by beſtowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wiſdom of Elizabeth. They have even been ſo extremely ignorant of the tranſactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality which, of all others, ſhe was the leaſt poſſeſſed of; a tender regard for the conſtitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is ſcarcely poſſible for the prepoſſeſſions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts ſo palpable and undeniable, there is danger leſt the public ſhould run into the oppoſite extreme, and ſhould entertain an averſion to the memory of a princeſs who exerciſed the royal authority in a manner ſo contrary to all the ideas which we at preſent entertain of a legal conſtitution. But Elizabeth only ſupported the prerogatives tranſmitted to her by her predeceſſors: She believed that her ſubjects were entitled to no more liberty than their anceſtors had enjoyed: She found that they entirely acquieſced in her arbitrary adminiſtration: And it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which ſhe herſelf was inveſted with ſuch unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power the queſtion ought

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never to be forgotten, *What is beſt?* But in the general diſtribution of power among the ſeveral members of a conſtitution, there can ſeldom be admitted any other queſtion than *What is eſtabliſhed?* Few examples occur of princes who have willingly reſigned their power: None of thoſe who have, without ſtruggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than eſtabliſhed practice be followed, factions and diſſenſions muſt multiply without end: And though many conſtitutions, and none more than the Britiſh, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praiſe beſtowed on thoſe patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with ſome reſerve, and ſurely without the leaſt rancour againſt thoſe who adhered to the ancient conſtitution [1].

In order to underſtand the ancient conſtitution of England, there is not a period which deſerves more to be ſtudied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princeſs were ſcarcely ever diſputed, and ſhe therefore employed them without ſcruple: Her imperious temper, a circumſtance in which ſhe went far beyond her ſucceſſors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and diſcovered the full extent of her authority: The great popularity which ſhe enjoyed proves that ſhe did not infringe any *eſtabliſhed* liberties of the people: There remains evidence ſufficient to aſcertain the moſt noted acts of her adminiſtration: And

[1] By the ancient conſtitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the ſettlement of our preſent plan of liberty. There was a more ancient conſtitution, where, though the people had perhaps leſs liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had alſo leſs authority: The power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exerciſed with great tyranny over them. But there was ſtill a more ancient conſtitution, viz, that before the ſigning of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almoſt wholly in the king. The Engliſh conſtitution, like all others, has been in a ſtate of continual fluctuation.

though

though that evidence muſt be drawn from a ſource wide of the ordinary hiſtorians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and ſerves as a ſtronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, ſince they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people in former reigns ſeem rather to have been more ſubmiſſive than even during the age of Elizabeth [m]: It may not here be improper to recount ſome of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the ſources of that great power which the Engliſh monarchs formerly enjoyed.

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One of the moſt ancient and moſt eſtabliſhed inſtruments of power was the court of Star Chamber, which poſſeſſed an unlimited diſcretionary authority of fining, impriſoning, and inflicting corporal puniſhment, and whoſe juriſdiction extended to all ſorts of offences, contempts, and diſorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court conſiſted of the privy council and the judges; men who, all of them, enjoyed their offices during pleaſure: And when the prince himſelf was preſent, he was the ſole judge, and all the others could only interpoſe with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty: For who durſt ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the crown and miniſtry, or aſpire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while expoſed to ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction? I much queſtion whether

[m] In a memorial of the ſtate of the realm, drawn by ſecretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this paſſage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulneſs and reverence of all inferior eſtates to their ſuperiors in times paſt, will aſtoniſh any wiſe and conſiderate perſon, to behold the deſperation of reformation." Haynes, p. 586. Again, p. 588.

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any of the abſolute monarchies in Europe contain at preſent ſo illegal and deſpotic a tribunal.

THE court of High Commiſſion was another juriſdiction ſtill more terrible; both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and becauſe its methods of inquiſition, and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and equity. The fines and impriſonments impoſed by this court were frequent: The deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for non-conformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England[n]. The queen, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaid expreſsly, that ſhe was reſolved, "That "no man ſhould be ſuffered to decline, either on "the left or on the right hand, from the drawn "line limited by authority, and by her laws and "injunctions[o]."

BUT Martial Law went beyond even theſe two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary, and violent method of deciſion. Whenever there was any inſurrection or public diſorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exerciſed not only over the ſoldiers, but over the whole people: Any one might be puniſhed as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provoſt-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleaſed to ſuſpect. Lord Bacon ſays, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Eſſex and his fellow-conſpirators, was a favour; for that the caſe would have borne and required the ſeverity of martial law[p]. We have ſeen inſtances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the

[n] Neal, vol. i. p. 479. [o] Murden, p. 183.
[p] Vol. iv. p. 510.

earl of Suffex, after the fuppreffion of the northern rebellion, in which fhe fharply reproves him becaufe fhe had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law [q]; though it is probable that near eight hundred perfons fuffered, one way or other, on account of that flight infurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercife of this law to times of civil war and diforder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or infurrection, king Edward granted a commiffion of martial law; and empowered the commiffioners to execute it, *as fhould be thought by their difcretions moft neceffary* [r]. Queen Elizabeth too was not fparing in the ufe of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being perfuaded that it was meritorious to kill fuch as oppofed the truth of the gofpel, ran into the ftreets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous fea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was fo incenfed, that fhe ordered him to be punifhed inftantly by martial law; but, upon the remonftrance of fome prudent counfellors, who told her that this law was ufually confined to turbulent times, fhe recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law [s]. But fhe continued not always fo referved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of her's, in which fhe orders martial law to be ufed againft all fuch as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad [t]; and prohibits the queftioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary punifhment of fuch offenders, *any law or ftatute to the contrary in anywife notwithftanding.* We have another act of her's ftill more extraordinary. The ftreets of London were much infefted with idle vagabonds and riotous perfons: The lord

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q MS. of lord Royfton's, from the Paper Office.

r Strype's Ecclef. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 373. 458, 9.

s Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. ii. p. 288.

t Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

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mayor had endeavoured to repreſs this diſorder: The Star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted puniſhment on theſe rioters: But the queen, finding thoſe remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave ſir Thomas Wilford a commiſſion of provoſt martial: "Granting him authority, and "commanding him, upon ſignification given by "the juſtices of peace in London, or the neigh-"bouring counties, of ſuch offenders worthy to "be ſpeedily executed by martial law, to attach and "take the ſame perſons, and in the preſence of the "ſaid juſtices, according to juſtice of martial law, "to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet "openly, or near to ſuch place where the ſaid re-"bellious and incorrigible offenders ſhall be found "to have committed the ſaid great offences [u]." I ſuppoſe it would be difficult to produce an inſtance of ſuch an act of authority in any place nearer than Muſcovy. The patent of high conſtable, granted to earl Rivers by Edward IV. proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force during peace as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament in Edward VIth's reign acknowledged the juriſdiction of the conſtable and martial's-court to be part of the law of the land [w].

THE Star-chamber, and High Commiſſion, and Court-martial, though arbitrary juriſdictions, had ſtill ſome pretence of a trial, at leaſt of a ſentence; but there was a grievous puniſhment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a ſecretary of ſtate, or of the privy council [x]; and that was, impriſonment in any jail, and during any time that the miniſters ſhould

[u] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 279.

[w] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 20. See ſir John Davis's Queſtion concerning Impoſitions, p. 9.

[x] In 1588, the lord mayor committed ſeveral citizens to priſon, becauſe they refuſed to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

think

think proper. In ſuſpicious times, all the jails were full of priſoners of ſtate; and theſe unhappy victims of public jealouſy were ſometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the moſt cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

THIS practice was an indirect way of employing torture: But the rack itſelf, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of juſtice[y], was frequently uſed, upon any ſuſpicion, by authority of a warrant from a ſecretary or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commiſſion, to make uſe of torture whenever they thought proper[z]. There cannot be a ſtronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following ſtory told by lord Bacon. We ſhall give it in his own words: "The queen "was mightily incenſed againſt Haywarde, on ac-"count of a book he dedicated to lord Eſſex, being "a ſtory of the firſt year of Henry IV. thinking it "a ſeditious prelude to put into the people's heads "boldneſs and faction[a]: She ſaid, ſhe had an opi-"nion that there was treaſon in it, and aſked me, "If I could not find any places in it, that might "be drawn within the caſe of treaſon? Whereto I "anſwered, For treaſon, ſure I found none; but "for felony very many: And when her majeſty "haſtily aſked me, Wherein? I told her, the au-"thor had committed very apparent theft: For he "had taken moſt of the ſentences of Cornelius "Tacitus, and tranſlated them into Engliſh, and "put them into his text. And another time when "the queen could not be perſuaded that it was his

[y] Harriſon, book ii. chap. 11.

[z] Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211.

[a] To our apprehenſion, Haywarde's book ſeems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preſerved the famous ſpeech of the biſhop of Carliſle, which contains, in the moſt expreſs terms, the doctrine of paſſive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to pleaſe on this head.

"writing

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"writing whose name was to it, but that it had "some more mischievous author, and said, with "great indignation, that she would have him "racked to produce his author; I replied, Nay, "madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, "but rack his style: Let him have pen, ink, and "paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to "continue the story where it breaketh off, and I "will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge "whether he were the author or no[b]." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure.

The queen's menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man, when the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice also of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance during all these reigns, that the sovereign or the ministers were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the jurors, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject.

[b] Cabala, p. 81.

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THE power of preſſing both for ſea and land ſervice, and obliging any perſon to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Oſborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In caſe "ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions," ſays he, "ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a "chargeable employment abroad, or putting him "upon ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe knew "leaſt grateful to the people: Contrary to a falſe "maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by "ſuch princes as thought it better huſbandry to "buy off enemies than reward friends [c]." The practice with which Oſborne reproaches the two immediate ſucceſſors of Elizabeth, proceeded partly from the extreme difficulty of their ſituation, partly from the greater lenity of their diſpoſition. The power of preſſing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abuſed, in other reſpects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing perſons from the ſervice [d].

THE government of England, during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this reſpect, ſome reſemblance of that of Turkey at preſent: The ſovereign poſſeſſed every power except that of impoſing taxes: And in both countries this limitation, unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the ſultan to permit the extortion of the baſhas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards ſqueezes preſents or takes forfeitures: In England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade: An invention ſo pernicious, that, had ſhe gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the ſeat of riches, and arts, and com-

c Page 392. d Murden, p. 181.

merce,

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merce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary.

WE may farther observe, that this valuable privilege, valuable only because it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on in an indirect manner during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predecessors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of imposition, and which individuals felt severely: For though the money had been regularly repayed, which was seldom the case [e], it lay in the prince's hands without interest, which was a sensible loss to the persons from whom the money was borrowed [f].

THERE remains a proposal made by lord Burleigh for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a subsidy [g]; a scheme which would have laid the burthen more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation imposed without consent of parliament. It is remarkable, that the scheme thus proposed without any visible necessity by that wise minister, is the very same which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I. enraged by ill usage from his parliament, and reduced to the greatest difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great discontent of the nation.

THE demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was so little conceived to be irregular, that the commons in 1585 offered the queen a benevolence;

[e] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362.

[f] In the second of Richard II. it was enacted, That in loans, which the king shall require of his subjects upon letters of privy seal, such as have *reasonable* excuse of not lending, may there be received without further summons, travel, or grief. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 170. By this law the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reasonable* excuse, was still left in his own breast to determine.

[g] Haynes, p. 518, 519.

which

which ſhe very generouſly refuſed, as having no occaſion at that time for money[h]. Queen Mary alſo, by an order of council, increaſed the cuſtoms in ſome branches; and her ſiſter imitated the example[i]. There was a ſpecies of ſhip money impoſed at the time of the Spaniſh invaſion: The ſeveral ports were required to equip a certain number of veſſels at their own charge; and ſuch was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that ſome of the ports, particularly London, ſent double the number demanded of them[k]. When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the ſoldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the ſea-ports at their own charge. New-year's gifts were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the more conſiderable gentry[l].

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PURVEYANCE and pre-emption were alſo methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppreſſive. The whole kingdom ſenſibly felt the burthen of thoſe impoſitions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of theſe univerſities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the firſt years of her reign[m].

WARDSHIP was the moſt regular and legal of all theſe impoſitions by prerogative: Yet was it a great badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the ſovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleaſed: Whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the eſtate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardſhip was a uſual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

h D'Ewes, p. 494.
i Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362.
k Monſon, p. 267.
l Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137.
m Camden, p. 388.

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THE inventions were endlefs which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined that their property was fecured by the crown's being debarred from impofing taxes. Strype has preferved a fpeech of lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained fome particulars not a little extraordinary[n]. Burleigh propofes that fhe fhould erect a court for the correction of all abufes, and fhould confer on the commiffioners a general inquifitorial power over the whole kingdom. He fets before her the example of her wife grandfather, Henry VII. who, by fuch methods, extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends that this new court fhould proceed, "as well by the direction and "ordinary courfe of the laws, as by virtue of her "majefty's fupreme regiment and *abfolute power,* "*from whence law proceeded.*" In a word, he expects from this inftitution greater acceffion to the royal treafure than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbies, and all the forfeitures of ecclefiaftical revenues. This project of lord Burleigh's needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government muft be very arbitrary indeed, where a wife and good minifter could make fuch a propofal to the fovereign.

EMBARGOES on merchandife was another engine of royal power, by which the Englifh princes were able to extort money from the people. We have feen inftances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, iffued an order to the cuftom-houfe, prohibiting the fale of all crimfon filks which fhould be imported, till the court were firft fupplied[o]. She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants while they lay under this reftraint.

THE parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting fubfidies; but this

[n] Annals, vol. iv. p. 234, & feq.

[o] Strype, vol. i. p. 27.

privilege

privilege was, during that age, ſtill more inſignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expreſsly prohibited them from meddling either with ſtate matters or ecclefiaſtical cauſes; and ſhe openly ſent the members to priſon who dared to tranſgreſs her imperial edict in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament during her reign where there occur not inſtances of this arbitrary conduct.

But the legiſlative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the ſovereign was univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs a diſpenſing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. The exerciſe of this power was alſo an indirect method practiſed for erecting monopolies. Where the ſtatutes laid any branch of manufacture under reſtrictions, the ſovereign, by exempting one perſon from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity [p]. There was no grievance at that time more univerſally complained of than the frequent diſpenſing with the penal laws [q].

But in reality the crown poſſeſſed the full legiſlative power by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter even of the greateſt importance, and which the Star-chamber took care to ſee more rigorouſly executed than the laws themſelves. The motives for theſe proclamations were ſometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the ſmell of woad; and ſhe iſſued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that uſeful plant [r]. She was alſo pleaſed to take offence at the long ſwords and high ruffs then in faſhion: She ſent about her officers to break every man's ſword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a certain dimenſion [s]. This practice reſem-

[p] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645. [q] Murden, p. 325. [r] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals. [s] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals, Strype, vol. ii. p. 603.

bles

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bles the method employed by the great Czar Peter, to make his ſubjects change their garb.

The queen's prohibition of the *propheſyings*, or the aſſemblies, inſtituted for fanatical prayers and conferences, was founded on a better reaſon; but ſhews ſtill the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of perſons could not meet together in order to read the ſcriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever ſo orthodox a manner, without her permiſſion.

There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permiſſion from the ſovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in priſon, becauſe he privately married the earl of Eſſex's couſin [s]. No man could travel without the conſent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a ſevere perſecution becauſe he had preſumed to pay a private viſit to the king of Scots [t]. The ſovereign even aſſumed a ſupreme and uncontrolled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any perſon to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported without his conſent [u].

The parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praiſed her for not imitating the practice uſual among her predeceſſors, of ſtopping the courſe of juſtice by particular warrants [w]. There could not poſſibly be a greater abuſe, nor a ſtronger mark of arbitrary power; and the queen in refraining from it was very laudable. But ſhe was by no means conſtant in this reſerve. There remain in the public records ſome warrants of her's for exempting particular perſons from all lawſuits and proſecutions [x]; and theſe warrants, ſhe ſays, ſhe grants

[s] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422. [t] Ibid. p. 511.
[u] Sir John Davis's Queſtion concerning Impoſitions, paſſim.
[w] D'Ewes, p. 141. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652. 708. 777.

from

from her royal prerogative, which ſhe will not allow to be diſputed. Appendix III.

It was very uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counſellors to commit to priſon any one who had happened to diſpleaſe them, by ſuing for his juſt debts; and the unhappy perſon, though he gained his cauſe in the courts of juſtice, was commonly obliged to relinquiſh his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some likewiſe, who had been delivered from priſon by the judges, were again committed to cuſtody in ſecret places, without any poſſibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and ſerjeants of the courts of law were puniſhed for executing the writs in favour of theſe perſons. Nay, it was uſual to ſend for people by purſuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commiſſion; and they were brought up to London, and conſtrained by impriſonment, not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but alſo to pay the purſuivants great ſums of money. The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complain to her majeſty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable that ſo egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth; ſince the parliament, who preſented the petition of right, found no later inſtances of it[y]. And even theſe very judges of Elizabeth who thus protect the people againſt the tyranny of the great, expreſsly allow, that a perſon committed by ſpecial command of the queen is not bailable.

It is eaſy to imagine that in ſuch a government, no juſtice could by courſe of law be obtained of the ſovereign, unleſs he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Frobiſher againſt the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very

[y] Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.

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rich carrack was taken, worth two hundred thouſand pounds. The queen's ſhare in the adventure was only a tenth; but as the prize was ſo great, and exceeded ſo much the expectation of all the adventurers, ſhe was determined not to reſt contented with her ſhare. Raleigh humbly and earneſtly begged her to accept of a hundred thouſand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and ſays, that the preſent which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thouſand pounds, was the greateſt that ever prince received from a ſubject [z].

But it is no wonder the queen in her adminiſtration ſhould pay ſo little regard to liberty; while the parliament itſelf in enacting laws was entirely negligent of it. The perſecuting ſtatutes which they paſſed againſt papiſts and puritans are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and by expoſing ſuch multitudes to the tyranny of prieſts and bigots, accuſtomed the people to the moſt diſgraceful ſubjection. Their conferring an unlimited ſupremacy on the queen, or, what is worſe, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary ſervitude.

The law of the 23d of her reign, making ſeditious words againſt the queen capital, is alſo a very tyrannical ſtatute; and a uſe no leſs tyrannical was ſometimes made of it. The caſe of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, ſeems ſingular even in thoſe arbitrary times. This man had publiſhed a book called a Demonſtration of Diſcipline, in which he inveighed againſt the government of biſhops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into priſon upon ſuſpicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the biſhops were part of the queen's political body; and to ſpeak againſt them was really

[z] Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

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to attack her, and was therefore felony by the ſtatute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was expoſed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a ſingle witneſs to the court: They only read the teſtimony of two perſons abſent, one of whom ſaid, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had ſaid ſo. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which they ſaid was never to be permitted againſt the crown[a]. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depoſe, that he was not the author of the book; and his refuſal to make that depoſition was employed as the ſtrongeſt proof of his guilt. It is almoſt needleſs to add, that notwithſtanding theſe multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury againſt Udal: For, as the queen was extremely bent upon his proſecution, it was impoſſible he could eſcape[b]. He died in priſon before execution of the ſentence.

THE caſe of Penry was, if poſſible, ſtill harder. The man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Browniſt, a ſmall ſect which afterwards increaſed, and received the name of Independants. He had written againſt the hierarchy ſeveral tracts, ſuch as Martin Marprelate, *Theſes Martinianæ*, and other compoſitions, full of low ſcurrility and petulant ſatire. After concealing himſelf for ſome years, he was ſeized; and, as the ſtatute againſt ſeditious words required that the criminal ſhould be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was

[a] It was never fully eſtabliſhed that the priſoner could legally produce evidence againſt the crown, till after the Revolution. See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352.

[b] State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

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therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition [c]. It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers, "he had not only "acknowledged her majesty's royal power to *esta-* "*blish* laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided "the *usual* terms of *making*, *enacting*, *decreeing*, "*and ordaining laws*: Which imply," says the lord keeper, "a most absolute authority [d]." Penry, for these offences, was condemned and executed.

Thus we have seen, that the *most absolute* authority of the sovereign, to make use of the lord keeper's expression, was established on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now abolished, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the subject. But what ensured more effectually the slavery of the people, than even these branches of prerogative, was the established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited and indefeizable power as was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none. The homilies published for the use of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited passive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for subjects in the smallest article to depart from or infringe. Much noise has been made because some court chaplains during the succeeding reigns were permitted to preach such doctrines; but there is a great difference between these sermons and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation [e]. So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during

c Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.
d Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 177.
e Gifford, a clergyman, was suspended in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magistrate. Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

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the reigns of Elizabeth and her predeceſſors, that oppoſition to them was regarded as the moſt flagrant ſedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praiſe and approbation which can alone ſupport men under ſuch dangers and difficulties as attend the reſiſtance of tyrannical authority[f]. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and ſpreading themſelves under the ſhelter of puritanical abſurdities, became faſhionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage uſually aſcribed to abſolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police, and a more ſtrict execution of the laws, did not attend the former Engliſh government, though in many reſpects it fell under that denomination. A demonſtration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preſerved by Strype[g], and which was written by an eminent juſtice of peace of Somerſetſhire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princeſs may be ſuppoſed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the diſorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerſet. The author ſays, that forty perſons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty ſeven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three diſcharged: That thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked and deſperate

[f] It is remarkable, that in all the hiſtorical plays of Shakeſpeare, where the manners and characters, and even the tranſactions of the ſeveral reigns are ſo exactly copied, there is ſcarely any mention of *civil Liberty*, which ſome pretended hiſtorians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, inſurrections, and civil wars. In the elaborate panegyric of England, contained in the tragedy of Richard II. and the detail of its advantages, not a word of its civil conſtitution, as anywiſe different from, or ſuperior to, that of other European kingdoms: An omiſſion which cannot be ſuppoſed in any Engliſh author that wrote ſince the Reſtoration, at leaſt ſince the Revolution.

[g] Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

 perſons,

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persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: That, notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: That the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over the sheep-folds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: That the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them were even in a worse: That there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: That if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a *strong battle:* And that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of peace who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of these felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that if the magistrates were not for the future more vigilant, she would entrust authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find an interest in a more exact administration of justice [h]. It appears that she was as good as her word. For

[h] D'Ewes, p. 234.

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in the year 1601, there were great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of juſtices of peace; and a member ſaid, that this magiſtrate was an animal, who for half a dozen of chickens would diſpenſe with a dozen of penal ſtatutes[i]. It is not eaſy to account for this relaxation of government and neglect of police during a reign of ſo much vigour as that of Elizabeth. The ſmall revenue of the crown is the moſt likely cauſe that can be aſſigned. The queen had it not in her power to intereſt a great number in aſſiſting her to execute the laws[k].

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On the whole, the Engliſh have no reaſon, from the example of their anceſtors, to be in love with the picture of abſolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives to that noble liberty, that ſweet equality, and that happy ſecurity by which they are at preſent diſtinguiſhed above all nations in the univerſe. The utmoſt that can be ſaid in favour of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be ſaid with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exerciſed after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the adminiſtration; that the inſtances of a high exerted prerogative were not ſo frequent as to render property ſenſibly inſecure, or reduce the people to a total ſervitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickneſs of execution, and the promptitude of thoſe meaſures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made ſome compenſation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accuſtomed; and that this ſituation of England, though ſeemingly it approached nearer, was in

i D'Ewes, p. 661—664.

k See note [MM] at the end of the volume.

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reality more remote from a defpotic and eaftern monarchy than the prefent government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defencelefs, and difarmed; and befides, are not fecured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interpofed between them and the monarch.

We fhall clofe the prefent Appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

Revenues.

Queen Elizabeth's œconomy was remarkable; and in fome inftances feemed to border on avarice. The fmalleft expence, if it could poffibly be fpared, appeared confiderable in her eyes; and even the charge of an exprefs during the moft delicate tranfactions was not below her notice[l]. She was alfo attentive to every profit; and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear fomewhat extraordinary. She kept, for inftance, the fee of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue[m]; and it was ufual with her, when fhe promoted a bifhop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the fee of fome of its manors[n]. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumftance, that fhe never amaffed any treafure; and even refufed fubfidies from the parliament when fhe had no prefent occafion for them. Yet we muft not conclude, from this circumftance, that her œconomy proceeded

[l] Birch's Negot. p. 21. [m] Strype, vol. iv. p. 351.

[n] Ibid. p. 215. There is a curious letter of the queen's, written to a bifhop of Ely, and preferved in the regifter of that fee. It is in thefe words: *Proud prelate, I underftand you are backward in complying with your agreement: But I would have you know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourfelf,* Elizabeth. The bifhop, it feems, had promifed to exchange fome part of the land belonging to the fee for a pretended equivalent, and did fo, but it was in confequence of the above letter. Annual Regifter, 1761, p. 15.

from

from a tender concern for her people: She loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independency, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes [o], than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expence of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves on a sudden reduced to the most extreme indigence.

THE splendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age [p]. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds: And the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand [q]. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importu-

[o] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151. 457. 525. 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363. [p] D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed but 300,000 pounds. I own that this last sum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

[q] Winwood, vol. i. p. 29. 54.

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nities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her[r]. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament[s]. In the year 1599 she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland[t]. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds[u]. She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom[w]. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign; *The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly*[x].

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a-year[y]. In the year 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to

[r] Winwood, vol. i. p. 117. 395. [s] D'Ewes, p. 483. [t] Camden, p. 167. [u] Appendix to the earl of Essex's apology. [w] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. [x] Nanton's Regalia, chap. 1.

[y] Franklyn in his Annals, p. 9. says, that the profit of the kingdom, besides wards and the dutchy of Lancaster (*which amounted to about 120,000 pounds*), was 188,197 pounds: The crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

refund

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refund ſome of his former profits [z]. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the ſuggeſtions of one Caermarthen; and was oppoſed by Burleigh, Leiceſter, and Walſingham: But the queen's perſeverance overcame all their oppoſition. The great undertakings which ſhe executed with ſo narrow a revenue, and with ſuch ſmall ſupplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wiſdom and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during the courſe of her whole reign, only twenty ſubſidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of theſe ſupplies; becauſe the value of a ſubſidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thouſand pounds [a]. If we ſuppoſe that the ſupplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we ſhall not probably be much wide of the truth [b]. This ſum makes only ſixty-

[z] Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impoſſible to be reconciled to the ſtate of the cuſtoms in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign, as they appear in the journals of the commons. See Hiſt. of James, chap. 46.

[a] D'Ewes, p. 630.

[b] Lord Saliſbury computed theſe ſupplies only at 2,800,000 pounds. Journ. 17 Feb. 1609. King James was certainly miſtaken when he eſtimated the queen's annual ſupplies at 137,000 pounds, Franklyn, p. 44. It is curious to obſerve, that the miniſter, in the war begun in 1754, was in ſome periods allowed to laviſh in two months as great a ſum as was granted by parliament to queen Elizabeth in forty-five years. The extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great importance of hers, ſet this matter in ſtill a ſtronger light. Money too, we may obſerve, was in moſt particulars of the ſame value in both periods: She payed eight-pence a day to every foot ſoldier. But our late deluſions have much exceeded any thing known in hiſtory, not even excepting thoſe of the cruſades. For I ſuppoſe there is no mathematical, ſtill leſs an arithmetical demonſtration, that the road to the Holy Land was not the road to Paradiſe, as there is, that the endleſs increaſe of national debts is the direct road to national ruin. But having now completely reached that goal, it is needleſs at preſent to reflect on the paſt. It will be found in the preſent year, 1776, that all the revenues of this iſland north of Trent and weſt of Reading, are mortgaged or anticipated for ever. Could the ſmall remainder be in a worſe condition, were thoſe provinces ſeized by Auſtria and Pruſſia? There is only this difference, that ſome event might happen in Europe which would oblige theſe great monarchs to diſgorge their acquiſitions. But no imagination can figure a ſituation which

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ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds a-year; and it is ſurpriſing, that while the queen's demands were ſo moderate, and her expences ſo well regulated, ſhe ſhould ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a ſupply from parliament, or be reduced to make ſale of the crown-lands. But ſuch was the extreme, I had almoſt ſaid abſurd, parſimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in compariſon of their money. The members had no connection with the court; and the very idea which they conceived of the truſt committed to them was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few ſupplies as poſſible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of ſupply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of ſeldom ſummoning parliaments [c]. No redreſs of grievances was expected from theſe aſſemblies: They were ſuppoſed to meet for no other purpoſe than to impoſe taxes.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the Engliſh princes had uſually recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that beſides paying the high intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and enterpriſing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependence on foreigners [d].

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Greſham to borrow for her two hundred thouſand

which will induce our creditors to relinquiſh their claims, or the public to ſeize their revenues. So egregious indeed has been our folly, that we have even loſt all title to compaſſion in the numberleſs calamities that are waiting us.

[c] Strype, vol. iv. p. 124.

[d] Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286.

pounds

pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debafed[e]. She was fo impolitic as to make, herfelf, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of filver into fixty-two fhillings, inftead of fixty the former ftandard. This is the laft time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

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Commerce.

QUEEN Elizabeth, fenfible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was defirous to encourage commerce and navigation: But as her monopolies tended to extinguifh all domeftic induftry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to ferve the purpofe at which fhe aimed, much lefs to promote the riches of her people. The exclufive companies alfo were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithftanding thefe difcouragements, the fpirit of the age was ftrongly bent on naval enterprifes; and befides the military expeditions againft the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new difcoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the Englifh. Sir Martin Frobifher undertook three fruitlefs voyages to difcover the north-weft paffage: Davis, not difcouraged by this ill fuccefs, made a new attempt, when he difcovered the ftraits which pafs by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the firft patent to the Eaft-India company: The ftock of that company was feventy-two thoufand pounds; and they fitted out four fhips under the command of James Lancafter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was fuccefsful; and the fhips returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

THE communication with Mufcovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the difcovery of

[e] MS. of lord Royfton's from the Paper-office, p. 295.

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the paſſage to Archangel: But the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an excluſive patent to the Engliſh for the whole trade of Muſcovy [f]; and ſhe entered into a perſonal as well as national alliance with him. This czar was named John Baſilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually ſuſpecting the revolt of his ſubjects, ſtipulated to have a ſafe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to enſure this reſource, he purpoſed to marry an Engliſh woman; and the queen intended to have ſent him lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: But when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, ſhe wiſely declined purchaſing an empire at the expence of her eaſe and ſafety [g].

The Engliſh, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from Baſilides, ventured farther into thoſe countries than any Europeans had formerly done. They tranſported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the ſtream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities ſeven days journey by land to Yeraſlau, and then down the Volga to Aſtracan. At Aſtracan they built ſhips, croſſed the Caſpian Sea, and diſtributed their manufactures into Perſia. But this bold attempt met with ſuch diſcouragements, that it was never renewed [h].

After the death of John Baſilides, his ſon Theodore revoked the patent which the Engliſh enjoyed for a monopoly of the Ruſſian trade: When the queen remonſtrated againſt this innovation, he told her miniſters, that princes muſt carry an indifferent hand, as well between their ſubjects as between fo-

[f] Camden, p. 408. [g] Ibid. p. 493. [h] Ibid. p. 418.

reigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few[i]. So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication between Europe and his country. Appendix III.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand signior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France[k]; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in the immunities and privileges of which she found them possessed. This answer not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who tried what they could themselves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and their returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant adventurers; the former residing constantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This success

[i] Camden, p. 493. [k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.

so

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ſo enraged the Hanſe-towns, that they tried all the methods which a diſcontented people could deviſe, to draw upon the Engliſh merchants the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates. They prevailed ſo far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the Engliſh were prohibited all commerce in the empire: The queen, by way of retaliation, retained ſixty of their ſhips, which had been ſeized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as deſiring to have compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities; but when ſhe was informed that a general aſſembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and cargoes to be confiſcated: Only two of them were releaſed to carry home the news, and to inform theſe ſtates that ſhe had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings[l].

Henry VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ſhips from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice: But Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building ſome ſhips of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which on occaſion were converted into ſhips of war[m]. In the year 1582, the ſeamen in England were found to be fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men[n]; the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon pretends, that though navigation decayed in the firſt years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms[o], yet before the year 1640 this number of ſeamen was tripled in England[p].

[l] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470. [m] Camden, p. 388. [n] Monſon, p. 256. [o] Ibid. p. 300. [p] Ibid. p. 210. 256.

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Military force.

THE navy which the queen left at her deceaſe appears conſiderable, when we reflect only on the number of veſſels, which were forty-two: But when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons; and twenty three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four[q]; we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained[r]. In the year 1588, there were not above five veſſels fitted out by the noblemen and ſea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons[s].

IN the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invaſion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppoſe them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this ſudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine[t]. A diſtribution was made in the year 1595 of a hundred and forty thouſand men, beſides thoſe which Wales could ſupply[u]. Theſe armies were formidable by their numbers; but their diſcipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the eaſt coaſt: So unfit was the militia, as it was then conſtituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were firſt appointed to the counties in this reign.

MR. Murden[w] has publiſhed from the Saliſbury collections, a paper which contains the military force

q Monſon, p. 196. The Engliſh navy at preſent carries about 14,000 guns.
r See note [NN] at the end of the volume.
s Monſon, p. 300.
t Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 432.
u Strype, vol. iv. p. 221.
w P. 608.

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of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet sir Edward Coke [x] said in the house of commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popham, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be 900,000 of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes that there were above 200,000 men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprisingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is six or seven times more populous at present? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and children, and infirm persons.

HARRISON says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to 1,172,674; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: A vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

WHATEVER opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed that, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power

[x] Journ. 25 April 1621.

in

in that, more perhaps than in any other European state since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at present exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Harry V.; when the maintenance of a garrison in a small town like Calais formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government! Appendix III.

THE state of the English manufactures was at this time very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference [y]. About the year 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds [z]. This computation is not, indeed, to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567 there were found, on inquiry, to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: Of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots [a]. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them [b]. It was then that sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: The queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

BY a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word usury, which formerly meant the taking of any interest for money, came now to express only the

y D'Ewes, p. 505. z Id. p. 497.
a Haynes, p. 461, 462. b Stowe, p. 668.

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taking of exorbitant and illegal intereſt. An act paſſed in 1571 violently condemns all uſury; but permits ten per cent. intereſt to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced intereſt to 6½ per cent.: An indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel ſays[c], that queen Elizabeth in the third of her reign was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings by her ſilkwoman, and never wore cloth hoſe any more. The author of The preſent State of England ſays, that about 1577, pocket watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the uſe of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel[d]. Before that time, the queen, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden ſays, that in 1581 Randolph, ſo much employed by the queen in foreign embaſſies, poſſeſſed the office of poſt-maſter-general of England. It appears, therefore, that poſts were then eſtabliſhed; though, from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would ſeem that few poſt-houſes were erected before that time.

In a remonſtrance of the Hanſe Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth[e]. This number ſeems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the firſt law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar obſervation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increaſe of incloſures and decay of tillage; and he aſcribes the reaſon very juſtly to the reſtraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of paſturage, ſuch as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c.

[c] Hiſtory of the World, vol. ii. p. 222. [d] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 421. [e] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 424.

Theſe

Thefe prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good fuccefs. From the fame author we learn, that the complaints renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing[f]. There feems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices rofe remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the prefent age. Between the two, there feems to have been a ftagnation. It would appear that induftry, during that intermediate period, increafed as faft as gold and filver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

THERE were two attempts made in this reign to fettle colonies in America; one by fir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by fir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: But neither of thefe projects proved fuccefsful. All thofe noble fettlements were made in the following reigns. The current fpecie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions[g].

THE earl of Leicefter defired fir Francis Walfingham, then ambaffador in France, to provide him with a riding-mafter in that country, to whom he promifes a hundred pounds a-year, befides maintaining himfelf and fervant, and a couple of horfes. "I "know," adds the earl, "that fuch a man as I "want may receive higher wages in France: But

[f] A compendious or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen. The author fays, that in 20 or 30 years before 1581, commodities had in general rifen 50 per cent.; fome more. Cannot you, neighbour, remember, fays he, that within thefe 30 years, I could in this town buy the beft pig or goofe I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now cofteth twelve-pence, a good capon for three pence or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence? p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a-day, p. 31.

[g] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.

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"let him consider, that a shilling in England goes "as far as two shillings in France[h]." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

Manners.

THE nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expences in this last particular[i]. The expence of hospitality she somewhat encouraged by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them[k]. The earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth castle, which was extraordinary for expence and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told, that three hundred and sixty-five hogsheads of beer were drunk at it[l]. The earl had fortified this castle at great expence; and it contained arms for ten thousand men[m]. The earl of Derby had a family consisting of two hundred and forty servants[n]. Stowe remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary services from them: A proof that the great power of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the

[h] Digges's Complete Ambassador. [i] Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 54.

[k] Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: "But "what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what "houses the queen's majesty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it "pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate herself abroad, and "view the estate of the country, and hear the complaints of her poor "commons injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every "nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she return again to some of her own, in which she "remaineth so long as she pleaseth." Book ii. chap. xv. Surely one may say of such a guest what Cicero says to Atticus on occasion of a visit paid him by Cæsar: Hospes tamen non is cui diceres, amabo te, eòdem ad me cum revertêre. Lib. xiii. Ep. 52. If she relieved the people from oppressions (to whom it seems the law could give no relief), her visits were a great oppression on the nobility.

[l] Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791. [m] Strype, vol. iii. p. 394. [n] Stowe, p. 674.

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nobility in tyrannifing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal eftate, kept a family confifting of a hundred fervants [o]. He had a ftanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perfons of meaner condition, which were always ferved alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his perfon he had people of great diftinction, infomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thoufand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary fervants, who were worth from a thoufand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thoufand pounds [p]. It is to be remarked, that though the revenues of the crown were at that time very fmall, the minifters and courtiers fometimes found means, by employing the boundlefs prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is poffible for them at prefent to amafs, from their larger falaries, and more limited authority.

BURLEIGH entertained the queen twelve feveral times in his country-houfe; where fhe remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each vifit coft him two or three thoufand pounds [q]. The quantity of filver plate poffeffed by this nobleman is furprifing: No lefs than fourteen or fifteen thoufand pounds weight [r]; which befides the fafhion would be above forty-two thoufand pounds fterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only 4000 pounds a-year in land, and 11,000 pounds in money; and as land was then commonly fold at ten years purchafe, his plate was nearly equal to all the reft of his fortune. It appears that little value was then put upon the fafhion of the plate, which probably was but rude: The weight was chiefly confidered [s].

[o] Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Append. [p] Life of Burleigh, publifhed by Collins. [q] Ibid. p. 40.

[r] See note [OO] at the end of the volume.

[s] This appears from Burleigh's will: He fpecifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldfmith to fee it weighed out to them, without making any diftinction of the pieces.

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But, though there were preſerved great remains of the ancient cuſtoms, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taſte for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and ſumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, ſays Camden [t]; but to the no leſs decay of the glorious hoſpitality of the nation. It is, however, more reaſonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and induſtry; while the ancient hoſpitality was the ſource of vice, diſorder, ſedition, and idleneſs [u].

Among the other ſpecies of luxury, that of apparel began much to increaſe during this age; and the queen thought proper to reſtrain it by proclamation [w]. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more deſirous of making impreſſion on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or ſtudied more the variety and richneſs of her dreſſes. She appeared almoſt every day in a different habit; and tried all the ſeveral modes by which ſhe hoped to render herſelf agreeable. She was alſo ſo fond of her clothes, that ſhe never could part with any of them; and at her death ſhe had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thouſand, which ſhe had ever worn in her lifetime [x].

The retrenchment of the ancient hoſpitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the ſovereign; and by diſabling the great noblemen from reſiſtance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of juſtice. There were many peculiar cauſes in the ſituation and character of Henry VII. which augmented the authority of the crown: Moſt

[t] Page 452. [u] See note [PP] at the end of the volume. [w] Camden, p. 452. [x] Carte, vol. iii. p. 702, from Beaumont's Diſpatches.

of

of these causes concurred in succeeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: But the manners of the age were a general cause which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more the influence of the aristocracy, anciently so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expence gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited ascendant which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best account with regard to profit; and either inclosing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, dismissed those useless hands which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the same with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progress of the same causes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

WHATEVER may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contri-

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contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fine and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal sanction to the practice, by reforming some abuses which attended it. But the settled authority which he acquired to the crown, enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as the feudal powers; and, by a statute of Henry VIII.[y], the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and subverted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the boors and peasants[z], but none afterwards.

Learning.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may on one account or other be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catharine Parr translated a book: Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on know-

[y] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24.

[z] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

ledge:

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ledge: Lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

QUEEN Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books; and ſhe was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue [a]. It is pretended that ſhe made an extemporary reply in Greek to the univerſity of Cambridge, who had addreſſed her in that language. It is certain, that ſhe anſwered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very ſpirited manner, to the Poliſh ambaſſador, who had been wanting in reſpect to her. When ſhe had finiſhed, ſhe turned about to her courtiers, and ſaid, "God's death, my lords," (for ſhe was much addicted to ſwearing,) "I have been forced this day "to ſcour up my old Latin that hath long lain "ruſting [b]." Elizabeth, even after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her deſire of ambition for beauty, this ſeems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She tranſlated Boethius of the Conſolation of Philoſophy; in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compoſitions, we may pronounce, that, notwithſtanding her application and her excellent parts, her taſte in literature was but indifferent: She was much inferior to her ſucceſſor in this particular, who was himſelf no perfect model of eloquence.

UNHAPPILY for literature, at leaſt for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spenſer himſelf, the fineſt Engliſh writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of ſir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almoſt for want. This poet contains

[a] See note [QQ] at the end of the volume. [b] Speed.

great

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great beauties, a ſweet and harmonious verſification, eaſy elocution, a fine imagination: Yet does the peruſal of his work become ſo tedious, that one never finiſhes it from the mere pleaſure which it affords: It ſoon becomes a kind of taſk reading; and it requires ſome effort and reſolution to carry us on to the end of his long performance. This effect, of which every one is conſcious, is uſually aſcribed to the change of manners: But manners have more changed ſince Homer's age; and yet that poet remains ſtill the favourite of every reader of taſte and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and intereſting picture: But the pencil of the Engliſh poet was employed in drawing the affectations, and conceits, and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as ſoon as they loſe the recommendation of the mode. The tedi-ouſneſs of continued allegory, and that too ſeldom ſtriking or ingenious, has alſo contributed to render the *Fairy Queen* peculiarly tireſome; not to mention the too great frequency of its deſcriptions, and the languor of its ſtanza. Upon the whole, Spenſer maintains his place upon the ſhelves among our Engliſh claſſics: But he is ſeldom ſeen on the table; and there is ſcarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confeſs, that, notwithſtanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is ſoon ſatiated. Several writers of late have amuſed themſelves in copying the ſtyle of Spenſer; and no imitation has been ſo indifferent as not to bear a great reſemblance to the original: His manner is ſo peculiar, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to transfer ſome of it into the copy.

NOTES

TO THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 13.

THE parliament alſo granted the queen the duties of tonnage and poundage; but this conceſſion was at that time regarded only as a matter of form, and ſhe had levied theſe duties before they were voted by parliament. But there was another exertion of power which ſhe practiſed, and which people, in the preſent age, from their ignorance of ancient practices, may be apt to think a little extraordinary. Her ſiſter, after the commencement of the war with France, had, from her own authority, impoſed four marks on each ton of wine imported, and had increaſed the poundage a third on all commodities. Queen Elizabeth continued theſe impoſitions as long as ſhe thought convenient. The parliament, who had ſo good an opportunity of reſtraining theſe arbitrary taxes, when they voted the tonnage and poundage, thought not proper to make any mention of them. They knew that the ſovereign, during that age, pretended to have the ſole regulation of foreign trade, and that their intermeddling with that prerogative would have drawn on them the ſevereſt reproof, if not chaſtiſement. See Forbes, vol. i. p. 132, 133. We know certainly, from the ſtatutes and journals, that no ſuch impoſitions were granted by parliament.

NOTE [B], p. 26.

KNOX, p. 127. We ſhall ſuggeſt afterwards ſome reaſons to ſuſpect, that perhaps no expreſs promiſe was ever given. Calumnies eaſily ariſe during times of faction, eſpecially thoſe of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpoſe. The congregation in their manifeſto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's mal-adminiſtration, do not reproach her with this breach of promiſe. It was probably nothing but a rumour ſpread abroad to catch the populace. If the papiſts have ſometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adverſaries ſeem alſo to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

NOTE [C], p. 30.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 146. Melvil, p. 29. Knox, p. 225. 228. Leſly, lib. x. That there was really no violation of the capitulation of Perth, appears from the manifeſto of the congregation in Knox, p. 184. in which it is not ſo much as pretended. The companies of Scotch ſoldiers were probably in Scotch pay, ſince the congregation complains, that the country was oppreſſed with taxes to maintain armies. Knox, p. 164, 165. And even if they had been in French pay, it had been no breach of the capitulation, ſince they were national troops, not French. Knox does not ſay, p. 139, that any of the inhabitants of Perth were tried or puniſhed for their paſt offences; but only that they were oppreſſed with the quartering of ſoldiers: And the congregation, in their manifeſto, ſay only that many of them had fled for fear. This plain detection of the calumny, with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth, may make us ſuſpect a like calumny with regard to the pretended promiſe not to give ſentence againſt the miniſters. The affair lay altogether between the regent and the laird of Dun; and that gentleman, though a man of ſenſe and character, might be willing to take ſome general profeſſions for promiſes. If the queen, overawed by the power of the congregation, gave ſuch a promiſe in order to have liberty to proceed to a ſen-

a ſentence; how could ſhe expect to have power to execute a ſentence ſo inſidiouſly obtained? And to what purpoſe could it ſerve?

NOTE [D], p. 31.

KNOX, p. 153, 154, 155. This author pretends that this article was agreed to verbally, but that the queen's ſcribes omitted it in the treaty which was ſigned. The ſtory is very unlikely, or rather very abſurd; and in the mean time it is allowed that the article is not in the treaty; nor do the congregation, in their ſubſequent manifeſto, inſiſt upon it. Knox, p. 184. Beſides, would the queen regent, in an article of a treaty, call her own religion idolatry?

NOTE [E], p. 33.

THE Scotch lords, in their declaration, ſay, "How "far we have ſought ſupport of England, or of any "other prince, and what juſt cauſe we had and have ſo to "do, we ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt unto the world, to "the praiſe of God's holy name, and to the confuſion of "all thoſe that ſlander us for ſo doing: For this we fear "not to confeſs, that, as in this enterpriſe againſt the de-"vil, againſt idolatry and the maintainers of the ſame, we "chiefly and only ſeek God's glory to be notified unto "men, ſin to be puniſhed, and virtue to be maintained; "ſo where power faileth of ourſelves, we will ſeek it "whereſoever God ſhall offer the ſame." Knox, p. 176.

NOTE [F], p. 80.

THIS year the council of Trent was diſſolved, which had ſitten from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the proteſtants rejected them. The religious controverſies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction would reſult from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned

learned and inquiſitive; and as the hiſtory of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expoſe clerical uſurpations and intrigues, and may ſerve us as a ſpecimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to ſee another general council, till the decay of learning and the progreſs of ignorance ſhall again fit mankind for theſe great impoſtures.

NOTE [G], p. 90.

IT appears, however, from Randolf's Letters (ſee Keith, p. 290.), that ſome offers had been made to that miniſter, of ſeizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the ſame ſtory, and ſays, that the deſign was acknowledged by the conſpirators, p. 56. This ſerves to juſtify the account given by the queen's party of the Raid of Baith, as it is called. See farther, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358. The other conſpiracy, of which Murray complained, is much more uncertain, and is founded on very doubtful evidence.

NOTE [H], p. 96.

BUCHANAN confeſſes that Rizzio was ugly; but it may be inferred, from the narration of that author, that he was young. He ſays, that on the return of the duke of Savoy to Turin, Rizzio was *in adoleſcentiæ vigore*, in the vigour of youth. Now that event happened only a few years before, lib. xvii. cap. 44. That Bothwel was young appears, among many other invincible proofs, from Mary's inſtructions to the biſhop of Dumblain, her ambaſſador at Paris; where ſhe ſays, that in 1559, only eight years before, he was *very young*. He might therefore have been about thirty when he married her. See Keith's Hiſtory, p. 388. From the appendix to the *Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum*, it appears by authentic documents, that Patrick earl of Bothwel, father to James, who eſpouſed queen Mary, was alive till near the year 1560. Buchanan, by a miſtake, which has been long ago corrected, calls him James.

NOTE [I], p. 110.

MARY herself confeffed, in her inftructions to the ambaffadors whom fhe fent to France, that Bothwel perfuaded all the noblemen that their application in favour of his marriage was agreeable to her. Keith, p. 389. Anderfon, vol. i. p. 94. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commiffioners, a paper figned by Mary, by which fhe permitted them to make this application to her. This permiffion was a fufficient declaration of her intentions, and was efteemed equivalent to a command. Anderfon, vol. iv. p. 59. They even afferted, that the houfe in which they met was furrounded with armed men. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 141.

NOTE [K], p. 141.

MARY's complaint of the queen's partiality in admitting Murray to a conference, was a mere pretext in order to break off the conference. She indeed employs that reafon in her order for that purpofe, (fee Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184.) but in her private letter, her commiffioners are directed to make ufe of that order to prevent her honour from being attacked. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 183. It was therefore the accufation only fhe was afraid of. Murray was the leaft obnoxious of all her enemies He was abroad when her fubjects rebelled, and reduced her to captivity: He had only accepted of the regency when voluntarily proffered him by the nation. His being admitted to queen Elizabeth's prefence was therefore a very bad foundation for a quarrel, or for breaking off the conference; and was plainly a mere pretence.

NOTE [L], p. 143.

WE fhall not enter into a long difcuffion concerning the authenticity of thefe letters: We fhall only remark in general, that the chief objections againft them are, that they are fuppofed to have paffed through the earl of Morton's hands, the leaft fcrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are to the laft degree indecent, and

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even ſomewhat inelegant, ſuch as it is not likely ſhe would write. But to theſe preſumptions we may oppoſe the following conſiderations. (1.) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a ſubſcription, it is very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to counterfeit ſeveral pages, ſo as to reſemble exactly the hand-writing of any perſon. Theſe letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing, by the Engliſh privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were ſeveral partiſans of that princeſs. They might have been examined by the biſhop of Roſs, Herreis, and others of Mary's commiſſioners. The regent muſt have expected that they would be very critically examined by them: And had they not been able to ſtand that teſt, he was only preparing a ſcene of confuſion to himſelf. Biſhop Leſly expreſsly declines the comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 389. (2.) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to ſerve the purpoſes of Mary's enemies; a circumſtance which increaſed the difficulty, and expoſed any forgery the more to the riſk of a detection. (3.) They are not ſo groſs and palpable as forgeries commonly are, for they ſtill left a pretext for Mary's friends to aſſert, that their meaning was ſtrained to make them appear criminal. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361. (4.) There is a long contract of marriage, ſaid to be written by the earl of Huntley, and ſigned by the queen, before Bothwel's acquittal. Would Morton, without any neceſſity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery and the danger of detection? (5.) The letters are indiſcreet; but ſuch was apparently Mary's conduct at that time: They are inelegant; but they have a careleſs, natural air, like letters haſtily written between familiar friends. (6.) They contain ſuch a variety of particular circumſtances as nobody could have thought of inventing, eſpecially as they muſt neceſſarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7.) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French: We have only a Scotch and Latin tranſlation from the original, and a French tranſlation profeſſedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable that the Scotch tranſlation is full of Gallicifms, and is clearly a tranſlation from a French original: Such as *make fault*, *faire des fautes*; *make it ſeem that I believe*, *faire ſemblant de le croire*; *make brek*, *faire breche*; *this is my firſt journey*, *c'eſt ma premiere journée*:

née; have you not desire to laugh, n'avez vous pas envie de rire; the place will hald unto the death, la place tiendra jusqu' à la mort; he may not come forth of the house this long time, il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long tems; to make me advertisement, fair m'avertir; put order to it, mettre ordre cela; discharge your heart, decharger votre cœur; make gud watch, faites bonne garde, &c. (8.) There is a conversation which she mentions between herself and the king one evening: But Murray produced before the English commissioners the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lenox, who swore that the king, on her departure from him, give him an account of the same conversation. (9.) There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous, if detected; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (10.) Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them; the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, queen Elizabeth and her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters. (11.) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold of it. (12.) The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (13.) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favoured so much the queen of Scots that he intended to marry her, and in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned to queen Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowledgment to Bannister, his most trusty confident. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 81. In the conferences between the duke, secretary Lidington, and the bishop of Ross, all of them zealous partisans of that princess, the same thing is always taken for granted. Ibid. p. 74, 75. See farther MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 28. p. 314. from Cott. lib. Calig. c. 9. Indeed the duke's full persuasion of Mary's guilt, without the least doubt or hesitation, could not have had place, if he had found Lidington or the bishop of Ross of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that these letters were forged. It is to be remarked, that Lidington, being one

of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conſpiracy againſt king Henry, and was beſides a man of ſuch penetration that nothing could eſcape him in ſuch intereſting events. (14.) I need not repeat the preſumption drawn from Mary's refuſal to anſwer. The only excuſe for her ſilence is, that ſhe ſuſpected Elizabeth to be a partial judge: It was not indeed the intereſt of that princeſs to acquit and juſtify her rival and competitor; and we accordingly find that Lidington, from the ſecret information of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the biſhop of Roſs, that the queen of England never meant to come to a deciſion; but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blaſt her character. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 77. But this was a better reaſon for declining the conference altogether, than for breaking it off on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accuſation was unexpectedly opened againſt her. Though ſhe could not expect Elizabeth's final deciſion in her favour, it was of importance to give a ſatisfactory anſwer, if ſhe had any, to the accuſation of the Scotch commiſſioners. That anſwer could have been diſperſed for the ſatisfaction of the public, of foreign nations, and of poſterity. And ſurely, after the accuſation and proofs were in queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no harm to give in the anſwers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a deciſion, could be no obſtacle to her juſtification. (15.) The very diſappearance of theſe letters is a preſumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of king James's friends, who were deſirous to deſtroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The diſappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. i. muſt have proceeded from a like cauſe. See MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 29. p. 88.

I find an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and ſubſcribed by queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament a few days after, were only written, not ſubſcribed. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64. 67. But it is not conſidered that this circumſtance is of no manner of force: There were certainly letters, true or falſe, laid before the council; and whether the letters were true or falſe, this miſtake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder

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of the clerk. The miſtake may be accounted for: The letters were only written by her: The ſecond contract with Bothwel was only ſubſcribed. A proper accurate diſtinction was not made; and they are all ſaid to be written and ſubſcribed. A late writer, Mr. Goodall, has endeavoured to prove that theſe letters claſh with chronology, and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters on the days there aſſigned: To confirm this, he produces charters and other deeds ſigned by the queen, where the date and place do not agree with the letters. But it is well known that the date of charters, and ſuch like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were ſigned by the ſovereign. Papers of that kind commonly paſs through different offices: The date is affixed by the firſt office, and may precede very long the day of the ſignature.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands, is very natural. When he gave it to the Engliſh commiſſioners, he had reaſon to think it would be canvaſſed with all the ſeverity of able adverſaries, intereſted in the higheſt degree to refute it. It is probable that he could have confirmed it by many circumſtances and teſtimonies, ſince they declined the conteſt.

The ſonnets are inelegant; inſomuch that both Brantome and Ronſard, who knew queen Mary's ſtyle, were aſſured, when they ſaw them, that they could not be of her compoſition. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 478. But no perſon is equal in his productions, eſpecially one whoſe ſtyle is ſo little formed as Mary's muſt be ſuppoſed to be. Not to mention that ſuch dangerous and criminal enterpriſes leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant poetical compoſitions.

In a word, queen Mary might eaſily have conducted the whole conſpiracy againſt her huſband, without opening her mind to any one perſon except Bothwel, and without writing a ſcrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it ſo that her conduct ſhould not betray her to men of diſcernment. In the preſent caſe her conduct was ſo groſs as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies hands papers by which they could convict her. The ſame infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the uſual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to obſerve, that there is not one circumſtance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the hiſtory, that is taken from Knox, Buchanan, or even Thuanus, or indeed from any ſuſpected authority.

NOTE [M], p. 145.

UNLESS we take this angry accufation, advanced by queen Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the leaft prefumption which fhould lead us to fufpect him to have been any wife an accomplice in the king's murder. That queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commiffioners affirmed at the time, that they themfelves knew of none, though they were ready to maintain its truth by their miftrefs's orders, and would produce fuch proof as fhe fhould fend them. It is remarkable that, at that time, it was impoffible for either her or them to produce any proof; becaufe the conferences before the Englifh commiffioners were previoufly broken off.

It is true, the bifhop of Rofs, in an angry pamphlet, written by him under a borrowed name (where it is eafy to fay any thing), affirms, that lord Herreis, a few days after the king's death, charged Murray with the guilt, openly to his face at his own table. This latter nobleman, as Lefly relates the matter, affirmed, that Murray riding in Fife with one of his fervants, the evening before the commiffion of that crime, faid to him among other talk, *This night ere morning the lord Darnley fhall lofe his life.* See Anderfon, vol. i. p. 75. But this is only a hearfay of Lefly's concerning a hearfay of Herreis's, and contains a very improbable fact. Would Murray, without any ufe or neceffity, communicate to a fervant, fuch a dangerous and important fecret, merely by way of converfation? We may alfo obferve, that lord Herreis himfelf was one of queen Mary's commiffioners who accufed Murray. Had he ever heard this ftory, or given credit to it, was not that the time to have produced it? and not have affirmed, as he did, that he for his part knew nothing of Murray's guilt. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 307.

The earls of Huntley and Argyle accufe Murray of this crime; but the reafon which they affign is ridiculous. He had given his confent to Mary's divorce from the king; therefore he was the king's murderer. See Anderfon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 192. It is a fure argument that thefe earls knew no better proof againft Murray, otherwife they would have produced it, and not have infifted on fo abfurd a prefumption. Was not this alfo the time for Huntley to deny his

his writing Mary's contract with Bothwel, if that paper had been a forgery?

Murray could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him some ill-will; but the king himself was become so despicable, both from his own ill conduct and the queen's aversion to him, that he could neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event in any case is always absurd, especially in the present. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency: But much more Mary's ill conduct and imprudence, which he could not possibly foresee, and which never would have happened had she been entirely innocent.

NOTE [N], p. 145.

I Believe there is no reader of common sense who does not see from the narrative in the text, that the author means to say, that queen Mary refuses constantly to answer before the English commissioners, but offers only to answer in person before queen Elizabeth in person, contrary to her practice during the whole course of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her husband's murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth's presence, and having expressed his opinion that, as it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, she did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impossible his meaning could be misunderstood (as indeed it was impossible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a passage or two, simply, that she had refused to make any answer. I believe also, there is no reader of common sense who peruses Anderson or Goodall's collections, and does not see that, agreeably to this narrative, queen Mary insists unalterably and strenuously on not continuing to answer before the English commissioners, but insists to be heard in person, by queen Elizabeth in person; though once or twice by way of bravado she says simply, that she will answer and refute her enemies, without inserting this condition, which still is understood. But there is a person that has writ an *Enquiry historical and critical into the Evidence against Mary queen of Scots*; and has attempted

to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a ſingle paſſage of the narrative, in which Mary is ſaid ſimply to refuſe anſwering; and then a ſingle paſſage from Goodall, in which ſhe boaſts ſimply that ſhe will anſwer; and he very civilly, and almoſt directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Enquiry, from beginning to end, is compoſed of ſuch ſcandalous artifices; and from this inſtance the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the Enquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our hiſtory, which may be regarded as touchſtones of party-men. An Engliſh Whig, who aſſerts the reality of the popiſh plot, an Iriſh Catholic, who denies the maſſacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, muſt be conſidered as men beyond the reach of argument or reaſon, and muſt be left to their prejudices.

NOTE [O], p. 167.

BY Murden's ſtate papers, publiſhed after the writing of this hiſtory, it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for the delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards ſent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was inſtructed to take good ſecurity from the regent, that that queen ſhould be tried for her crimes, and that the ſentence ſhould be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer, becauſe we hear no more of it.

NOTE [P], p. 169.

SIR James Melvil, p. 108, 109, aſcribes to Elizabeth a poſitive deſign of animating the Scotch factions againſt each other; but his evidence is too inconſiderable to counterbalance many other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her ſubſequent conduct, as well as her intereſt, and the neceſſity of her ſituation. It was plainly her intereſt that the king's party ſhould prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to ſtop their progreſs, or even forbear openly aſſiſting them, but her intention of ſtill amuſing the queen of

of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably reſtored to her throne. See farther, Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 20.

NOTE [Q], p. 243.

THAT the queen's negotiations for marrying the duke of Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumſtances; particularly from a paſſage in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of lord Royſton. She there enjoins Walſingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the perſon of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the ſmall-pox, ſhe deſires her ambaſſador to conſider, whether he yet retained ſo much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had ſhe not been in earneſt, and had ſhe only meant to amuſe the public, or the court of France, this circumſtance was of no moment.

NOTE [R], p. 265.

D'EWES, p. 328. The puritanical ſect had indeed gone ſo far, that a book of diſcipline was ſecretly ſubſcribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the preſbyterian government thereby eſtabliſhed in the midſt of the church, notwithſtanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commiſſion. So impoſſible is it by penal ſtatutes, however ſevere, to ſuppreſs all religious innovation. See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291.

NOTE [S], p. 267.

THIS year the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, had been engaged in a conſpiracy with lord Paget for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conſcious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at leaſt that ſentence would infallibly be pronounced againſt him, he freed himſelf from farther proſecution by a voluntary death. He ſhot himſelf in the breaſt with a piſtol. About the ſame time the earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate

fortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into ſome exceptionable meaſures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart ſecretly beyond ſea, but was diſcovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587, this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treaſon; chiefly becauſe he had dropped ſome expreſſions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have maſſes ſaid for the ſucceſs of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treaſon: This ſevere ſentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a priſoner in 1595. He carried his religious auſterities ſo far, that they were believed the immediate cauſe of his death.

NOTE [T], p. 282.

MARY's extreme animoſity againſt Elizabeth may eaſily be conceived, and it broke out about this time in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in cuſtody by the earl of Shrewſbury, ſhe lived during a long time in great intimacy with the counteſs; but that lady entertaining a jealouſy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendſhip was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her ſpite againſt the counteſs and that againſt Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious ſcandalous ſtories which, ſhe ſaid, the counteſs of Shrewſbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promiſe of marriage to a certain perſon, whom ſhe afterwards often admitted to her bed: That ſhe had been equally indulgent to Simier the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: That Hatton was alſo one of her paramours, who was even diſguſted with her exceſſive love and fondneſs: That though ſhe was, on other occaſions, avaricious to the laſt degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, ſhe ſpared no expence in gratifying her amorous paſſions: That notwithſtanding her licentious amours, ſhe was not made like other women; and all thoſe who courted her marriage would in the end be diſappointed: That ſhe was ſo conceited of her beauty, as to ſwallow the moſt extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on theſe occaſions, forbear even ſneering at her for her folly: That it

was uſual for them to tell her, that the luſtre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the ſun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: She added, that the counteſs had ſaid, that Mary's beſt policy would be to engage her ſon to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that ſuch a propoſal would be taken for mockery; ſo ridiculous was the opinion which ſhe had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the counteſs had repreſented her as no leſs odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and abſurd in her vanity: That ſhe had ſo beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore, as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candleſtick: That ſhe had cut another acroſs the hand with a knife, who had been ſo unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the counteſs had informed her, that Elizabeth had ſuborned Rolſtone to pretend friendſhip to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conſpiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings againſt her the more rigorous. How far all theſe imputations againſt Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful: But her extreme fondneſs for Leiceſter, Hatton, and Eſſex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious paſſages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chaſtity very much to be ſuſpected. Her ſelf-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when ſhe was a very old woman, ſhe allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*. Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her paſſionate temper may alſo be proved from many lively inſtances; and it was not unuſual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow ſhe gave to Eſſex before the privy-council is another inſtance. There remains in the Muſæum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievouſly of the queen's pinching his wife very ſorely, on account of ſome quarrel between them. Had this princeſs been born in a private ſtation, ſhe would not have been very amiable: But her abſolute authority, at the ſame time that it

it gave an uncontrolling ſwing to her violent paſſions, enabled her to compenſate her infirmities by many great and ſignal virtues.

NOTE [U], p. 295.

CAMDEN, p. 525. This evidence was that of Curle, her ſecretary, whom ſhe allowed to be a very honeſt man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping ſo long ſuch important ſecrets, from whoſe diſcovery he could have reaped the greateſt profit. Mary, after all, thought that ſhe had ſo little reaſon to complain of Curle's evidence, that ſhe took care to have him paid a conſiderable ſum by her will, which ſhe wrote the day before her death. Goodall, vol. i. p. 413. Neither did ſhe forget Nau, though leſs ſatisfied in other reſpects with his conduct. Id. ibid.

NOTE [X], p. 295.

THE detail of this conſpiracy is to be found in a letter of the queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confident. This letter is dated the 20th of May 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of lord Royſton. It is a copy atteſted by Curle, Mary's ſecretary, and indorſed by lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond queſtion is, that we find in Murden's collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote that very day a letter to Charles Paget: And farther ſhe mentions in the manuſcript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April: Now we find by Murden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

This violence of ſpirit is very conſiſtent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppoſe the gratification of her paſſions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her ſon, having made ſome fruitleſs attempt to aſſociate her with him in the title, and having found the ſcheme impracticable, on ac-

count

count of the prejudices of his proteſtant ſubjects, at laſt deſiſted from that deſign, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in ſuch a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as ſhe imagined it, that ſhe wrote to queen Elizabeth, that ſhe no longer cared what became of him or herſelf in the world; the greateſt ſatisfaction ſhe could have before her death was, to ſee him and all his adherents become a ſignal example of tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedneſs. She would find in Chriſtendom other heirs, and doubted not to put her inheritance in ſuch hands as would retain the firmeſt hold of it. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body: The quickeſt death would then be the moſt agreeable to her. And ſhe aſſured her that, if he perſevered, ſhe would diſown him for her ſon, and would give him her malediction, would diſinherit him, as well of his preſent poſſeſſions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her ſubjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all ſtrangers to ſubdue and conquer him. It was in vain to employ menaces againſt her: The fear of death or other misfortune would never induce her to make one ſtep, or pronounce one ſyllable beyond what ſhe had determined: She would rather periſh with honour, in maintaining the dignity to which God had raiſed her, than degrade herſelf by the leaſt puſillanimity, or act what was unworthy of her ſtation and of her race. Murden, p. 566, 567.

James ſaid to Courcelles, the French ambaſſador, that he had ſeen a letter under her own hand, in which ſhe threatened to diſinherit him, and ſaid that he might betake him to the lordſhip of Darnley; for that was all he had by his father. *Courcelles' Letter, a MS. of Dr. Campbell's.* There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of her's, where ſhe throws out the ſame menace againſt him.

We find this ſcheme of ſeizing the king of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, propoſed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. A mother muſt be very violent to whom one would dare to make ſuch a propoſal: But it ſeems ſhe aſſented to it. Was not ſuch a woman very capable of murdering her huſband, who had ſo grievouſly offended her?

NOTE [Y], p. 297.

THE volume of State Papers, collected by Murden, prove beyond controverſy, that Mary was long in cloſe correſpondence with Babington, p. 513. 516. 532, 533. She entertained a like correſpondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a ſcheme with them for an inſurrection, and for the invaſion of England by Spain, p. 528. 531. The ſame papers ſhow, that there had been a diſcontinuance of Babington's correſpondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513. where Morgan recommends it to queen Mary to renew her correſpondence with Babington. Theſe circumſtances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correſpondence with Babington contained particulars which could not be avowed.

NOTE [Z], p. 297.

THERE are three ſuppoſitions by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for, without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. The firſt is, that which ſhe ſeems herſelf to have embraced, that her ſecretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ventured of themſelves to anſwer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: But it is utterly improbable, if not impoſſible, that a princeſs of ſo much ſenſe and ſpirit ſhould, in an affair of that importance, be ſo treated by her ſervants who lived in the houſe with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the ſecret to her. If the conſpiracy failed, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhment from the court of England; if it ſucceeded, the lighteſt puniſhment which they could hope for from their own miſtreſs, muſt be diſgrace on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was in ſome degree requiſite for effecting the deſign of her eſcape: It was propoſed to attack her guards while ſhe was employed in hunting: She muſt

muſt therefore concert the time and place with the conſpirators. The ſecond ſuppoſition is, that theſe two ſecretaries were previouſly traitors; and being gained by Walſingham, had made ſuch a reply in their miſtreſs's cypher as might involve her in the guilt of the conſpiracy. But theſe two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been intirely truſted by her, and had never fallen under ſuſpicion either with her or her partiſans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walſingham on pretence of ſome promiſe; but Walſingham told him that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no diſcoveries on his examination, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third ſuppoſition is, that neither the queen nor the two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, ever ſaw Babington's letter, or made any anſwer; but that Walſingham having deciphered the former, forged a reply. But this ſuppoſition implies the falſehood of the whole ſtory, told by Camden, of Gifford's acceſs to the queen of Scots' family, and Paulet's refuſal to concur in allowing his ſervants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence muſt, on this ſuppoſition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would neceſſarily have been engaged, for their own juſtification, to have told the truth afterwards; eſpecially upon the acceſſion of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, perſiſted ſtill in his teſtimony.

We muſt alſo conſider, that the two laſt ſuppoſitions imply ſuch a monſtrous criminal conduct in Walſingham, and conſequently in Elizabeth (for the matter could be no ſecret to her), as exceeds all credibility. If we conſider the ſituation of things, and the prejudices of the times, Mary's conſent to Babington's conſpiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an uſurper and a heretic: She regarded her as a perſonal and a violent enemy: She knew that ſchemes for aſſaſſinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous catholics: Her own liberty and ſovereignty were connected with the ſucceſs of this enterprize: And it cannot appear ſtrange, that where men, of ſo much merit as Babington, could be engaged by bigotry alone, in ſo criminal an enterprize, Mary, who was actuated by the ſame motive, joined

to

to ſo many others, ſhould have given her conſent to a ſcheme projected by her friends. We may be previouſly certain, that if ſuch a ſcheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of ſucceſs, ſhe would aſſent to it: And it ſerved the purpoſe of Walſingham and the Engliſh miniſtry to facilitate the communication of theſe ſchemes, as ſoon as they had gotten an expedient for intercepting her anſwer, and detecting the conſpiracy. Now Walſingham's knowledge of the matter is a ſuppoſition neceſſary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

As to the not puniſhing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to puniſh leſſer criminals, who had given evidence againſt the principal.

But what ought to induce us to reject theſe three ſuppoſitions is, that they muſt all of them be conſidered as bare poſſibilities: The partiſans of Mary can give no reaſon for preferring one to the other: Not the ſlighteſt evidence ever appeared to ſupport any one of them: Neither at that time, nor at any time afterwards, was any reaſon diſcovered, by the numerous zealots at home and abroad, who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of theſe three ſuppoſitions; and even her apologiſts at preſent ſeem not to have fixed on any choice among theſe ſuppoſed poſſibilities. The poſitive proof of two very credible witneſſes, ſupported by the other very ſtrong circumſtances, ſtill remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme intereſt to have communication with the queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correſpondence with her, and had received an anſwer from her: He, as well as the other conſpirators, died in that belief: There has not occurred, ſince that time, the leaſt argument to prove that they were miſtaken: Can there be any reaſon at preſent to doubt the truth of their opinion? Camden, though a profeſt apologiſt for Mary, is conſtrained to tell the ſtory in ſuch a manner as evidently ſuppoſes her guilt. Such was the impoſſibility of finding any other conſiſtent account, even by a man of parts who was a contemporary!

In this light might the queſtion have appeared even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controverſy is the following paſſage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July 1586. "As to "Babington, he hath both kindly and honeſtly offered

" himſelf and all his means to be employed any way I " would: Whereupon I hope to have ſatisfied him by two " of my ſeveral letters ſince I had his; and the rather, " for that I opened him the way, whereby I received his " with your aforeſaid." Murden, p. 533. Babington confeſſed, that he had offered her to aſſaſſinate the queen: It appears by this that ſhe had accepted the offer: So that all the ſuppoſitions of Walſingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her ſecretaries, fall to the ground.

NOTE [AA], p. 302.

THIS parliament granted the queen a ſupply of a ſubſidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again after the execution of the queen of Scots; when they paſſed ſome remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We ſhall give them in the words of ſir Simon D'Ewes, p. 410, 411. which are almoſt wholly tranſcribed from Townſhend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, firſt uſing ſome ſpeeches touching the neceſſity of a learned miniſtry, and the amendment of things amiſs in the eccleſiaſtical eſtate, offered to the houſe a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching eccleſiaſtical government ſhould be void: And that it might be enacted, that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be uſed. The book contained the form of prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be uſed in the church; and he deſired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect uſed this ſpeech: For that her majeſty before this time had commanded the houſe not to meddle with this matter, and that her majeſty had promiſed to take order in thoſe cauſes, he doubted not but to the good ſatisfaction of all her people, he deſired that it would pleaſe them to ſpare the reading of it. Notwithſtanding the houſe deſired the reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker deſired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion againſt the reading of it; ſaying, that it was not meet to be read,

 and

and it did appoint a new form of adminiſtration of the ſacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the diſcredit of the book of common prayer, and of the whole ſtate; and thought that this dealing would bring her majeſty's indignation againſt the houſe, thus to enterpriſe this dealing with thoſe things which her majeſty eſpecially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor ſpake, ſhewing the neceſſity of preaching and of a learned miniſtry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book ſhould be read. To this purpoſe ſpake Mr. Hurleſton and Mr. Bainbrigg; and ſo, the time being paſſed, the houſe broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majeſty ſent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, which Mr. Speaker ſent to her majeſty. On Tueſday the 28th of February, her majeſty ſent for Mr. Speaker, by occaſion whereof the houſe did not ſit. On Wedneſday the firſt day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained queſtions touching the liberties of the houſe, and to ſome of which he was to anſwer, and deſired they might be read. Mr. Speaker deſired him to ſpare his motion, until her majeſty's pleaſure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the houſe; but Mr. Wentworth would not be ſo ſatisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from ſpeaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the houſe; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the ſame here aſſembled, freely and without controulment of any perſon or danger of laws, by bill or ſpeech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatſoever, touching the ſervice of God, the ſafety of the prince and this noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and ſervice unto the prince and ſtate, without free ſpeech in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminiſh from the laws of the realm, but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not againſt the orders of this council to make any ſecret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known

to

to the prince, or any other, concerning the high ſervice of God, prince or ſtate, without the conſent of the houſe? Whether the ſpeaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his ſpeech uſed in this houſe tending to any of the forenamed ſervices? Whether the ſpeaker may riſe when he will, any matter being propounded, without conſent of the houſe or not? Whether the ſpeaker may over-rule the houſe in any matter or cauſe there in queſtion, or whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and ſtate can continue, and ſtand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament, not altering the government of the ſtate? At the end of theſe queſtions, ſays ſir Simon D'Ewes, I found ſet down this ſhort note or memorial enſuing; by which it may be perceived, both what ſerjeant Puckering, the ſpeaker, did with the ſaid queſtions after he had received them, and what became alſo of this buſineſs, viz. "Theſe "queſtions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and ſhewed ſir "Thomas Henage, who ſo handled the matter that Mr. "Wentworth went to the Tower, and the queſtions not "at all moved. Mr. Buckler of Eſſex herein brake his "faith in forſaking the matter, &c. and no more was "done." After ſetting down, continues ſir Simon D'Ewes, the ſaid buſineſs of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this ſhort concluſion of the day itſelf, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being "ſent for to the queen's majeſty, the houſe departed." On Thurſday the ſecond of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurleſton, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were ſent for to my lord chancellor, and by divers of the privy council, and from thence were ſent to the Tower. On Saturday the fourth day of March, ſir John Higham made a motion to this houſe, for that divers good and neceſſary members thereof were taken from them, that it would pleaſe them to be humble petitioners to her majeſty for the reſtitution of them again to this houſe. To which ſpeeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain anſwered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compaſs of the privilege of the houſe, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we ſhould give occaſion to her majeſty's farther diſpleaſure: And therefore adviſed to ſtay until they heard more, which could not be long: And farther he ſaid, touching the book and the petition, her majeſty had,

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for divers good caufes beft known to herfelf, thought fit to fupprefs the fame, without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majefty to give any account of her doings.—But, whatfoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is moft probable thefe members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majefty had often inhibited, and which had caufed fo much difputation and fo many meetings between the two houfes the laft parliament.

This is all we find of the matter in fir Simon D'Ewes and Townfhend; and it appears that thofe members who had been committed, were detained in cuftody till the queen thought proper to releafe them. Thefe queftions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; becaufe they contain fome faint dawn of the prefent Englifh conftitution; though fuddenly eclipfed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritanifm, as well as his love of liberty (for thefe two characters of fuch unequal merit arofe and advanced together), the true forerunner of the Hambdens, the Pyms, and the Hollifes, who in the next age, with lefs courage, becaufe with lefs danger, rendered their principles fo triumphant. I fhall only afk, whether it be not fufficiently clear from all thefe tranfactions, that in the two fucceeding reigns it was the people who encroached upon the fovereign; not the fovereign who attempted, as is pretended, to ufurp upon the people?

NOTE [BB], p. 338.

THE queen's fpeech in the camp of Tilbury was in thefe words: My loving people, we have been perfuaded by fome, that are careful of our fafety, to take heed how we commit ourfelves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but affure you, I do not defire to live to diftruft my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always fo behaved myfelf, that, under God, I have placed my chiefeft ftrength and fafeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my fubjects. And therefore I am come amongft you at this time, not as for my recreation or fport, but being refolved, in the midft and heat of the battle, to live or die amongft you all; to lay down, for my God,

God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the duſt. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul ſcorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which, rather than any diſhonour ſhould grow by me, I myſelf will take up arms; I myſelf will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardneſs, that you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy ſubject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

NOTE [CC], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 525. On the fourth of September, ſoon after the diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, died the earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite. Her affection for him continued to the laſt. He had diſcovered no conduct in any of his military enterpriſes, and was ſuſpected of cowardice; yet ſhe intruſted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spaniſh invaſion; a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commiſſion to be drawn for him, conſtituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton repreſented to her the danger of intruſting ſuch unlimited authority in the hands of any ſubject, and prevented the execution of that deſign. No wonder that a conduct ſo unlike the uſual jealouſy of Elizabeth, gave reaſon to ſuſpect that her partiality was founded on ſome other paſſion than friendſhip. But Elizabeth ſeemed to carry her affection to Leiceſter no farther than the grave: She ordered his goods to be diſpoſed

of at a public ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf of ſome debt which he owed her; and her uſual attention to money was obſerved to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceaſed. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the ſtricteſt religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hoſpitals.

NOTE [DD], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 542. Id. Append. p. 239. There are ſome ſingular paſſages in this laſt ſpeech, which may be worth taking notice of; eſpecially as they came from a member who was no courtier; for he argues againſt the ſubſidy: "And firſt," ſays he, "for the *neceſſity* "thereof I cannot deny, but if it were a charge impoſed "upon us by her majeſty's commandment, or a demand "proceeding from her majeſty by way of requeſt, that I "think there is not one among us all, either ſo diſobedient "a ſubject in regard of our duty, or ſo unthankful a man "in reſpect of the ineſtimable benefits which, by her or "from her, we have received, which would not with frank "conſent, both of voice and heart, moſt willingly ſubmit "himſelf thereunto, without any unreverend enquiry into "the cauſes thereof; for it is continually in the mouth of "us all, that our lands, goods, and lives, are at our "prince's diſpoſing. And it agreeth very well with that "poſition of the civil law, which ſayeth, *Quod omnia regis* "*ſunt*. But how? *Ita tamen ut omnium ſint. Ad regem* "*enim poteſtas omnium pertinet; ad ſingulos proprietas*. So "that although it muſt be true that her majeſty hath over "ourſelves and our goods, *poteſtatem imperandi;* yet it is "true, that until that power command (which, no doubt, "will not command without very juſt cauſe), every ſub-"ject hath his own *proprietatem poſſidendi*. Which power "and commandment from her majeſty, which we have "not yet received, I take it (ſaving reformation) that we "are freed from the cauſe of *neceſſity*. And the cauſe of "neceſſity is the dangerous eſtate of the commonwealth," &c. The tenor of the ſpeech pleads rather for a general benevolence than a ſubſidy; for the law of Richard III. againſt benevolence was never conceived to have any force.

force. The member even proceeds to aſſert with ſome precaution, that it was in the power of a parliament to refuſe the king's demand of a ſubſidy; and that there was an inſtance of that liberty in Henry III.'s time, near four hundred years before. *Sub fine.*

NOTE [EE], p. 348.

WE may judge of the extent and importance of theſe abuſes by a ſpeech of Bacon's againſt purveyors, delivered in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of the ſubſequent reign, by which alſo we may learn, that Elizabeth had given no redreſs to the grievances complained of. "Firſt," ſays he, "they take in kind what they ought "not to take; ſecondly, they take in quantity a far "greater proportion than cometh to your majeſty's uſe; "thirdly, they take in an unlawful manner, in a manner, "I ſay, directly and expreſsly prohibited by the ſeveral "laws. For the firſt, I am a little to alter their name; "for inſtead of takers they become taxers: Inſtead of "taking proviſions for your majeſty's ſervice, they tax "your people *ad redimendam vexationem;* impoſing upon "them and extorting from them divers ſums of money, "ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of ſtipends "annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be freed and eaſed of their "oppreſſion. Again, they take trees, which by law they "cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, coun"tenance, and ſhelter of men's houſes; that men have "long ſpared from their own purſe and profit; that men "eſteem for their uſe and delight, above ten times the "value; that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover. "Theſe do they take, to the defacing and ſpoiling of your "ſubjects manſions and dwellings, except they may be "compounded with to their own appetites. And if a "gentleman be too hard for them while he is at home, "they will watch their time when there is but a bailiff "or a ſervant remaining, and put the axe to the root of "the tree, ere ever the maſter can ſtop it. Again, they "uſe a ſtrange and moſt unjuſt exaction in cauſing the "ſubjects to pay poundage of their own debts, due from "your majeſty unto them; ſo as a poor man when he

" has had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry (which per-
" chance he was full loath to part with, and had for the
" provifion of his own family, and not to put to fale) taken
" from him, and that not a juft price, but under the
" value, and cometh to receive his money, he fhall have
" after the rate of twelve-pence in the pound abated
" for poundage of his due payment upon fo hard condi-
" tions. Nay, farther, they are grown to that extremity
" (as is affirmed, though it be fcarce credible, fave that
" in fuch perfons all things are credible), that they will
" take double poundage, once when the debenture is made,
" and again the fecond time, when the money is paid.
" For the fecond point, moft gracious fovereign, touching
" the quantity which they take far above that which is
" anfwered to your majefty's ufe; it is affirmed unto me
" by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter which
" I may fafely avouch unto your majefty, that there is no
" pound profit which redoundeth unto your majefty in this
" courfe, but induceth and begetteth three pound damage
" upon your fubjects, befide the difcontentment. And to
" the end they may make their fpoil more fecurely, what
" do they? Whereas divers ftatutes do ftrictly provide,
" that whatfoever they take fhall be regiftered and atteft-
" ed, to the end that by making a collation of that which
" is taken from the country and that which is anfwered
" above, their deceits might appear, they, to the end to
" obfcure their deceits, utterly omit the obfervation of
" this, which the law prefcribeth. And therefore to de-
" fcend, if it may pleafe your majefty, to the third fort of
" abufe, which is of the unlawful manner of their taking,
" whereof this queftion is a branch; it is fo manifold, as
" it rather afketh an enumeration of fome of the particulars
" than a profecution of all. For their price, by law they
" ought to take as they can agree with the fubject; by
" abufe, they take at an impofed and enforced price: By
" law they ought to take but one apprizement by neigh-
" bours in the country; by abufe, they make a fecond
" apprizement at the court gate; and when the fubjects
" cattle come up many miles, lean and out of plight by
" reafon of their travel, then they prize them anew at an
" abated price: By law they ought to take between fun
" and fun; by abufe, they take by twilight and in the
" night-time, a time well chofen for malefactors: By law
" they

"they ought not to take in the highways (a place by her "majeſty's high prerogative protected, and by ſtatute by "ſpecial words excepted); by abuſe, they take in the "highways: By law, they ought to ſhew their commiſ-"ſion, &c. A number of other particulars there are, "&c." Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306.

Such were the abuſes which Elizabeth would neither permit her parliament to meddle with, nor redreſs herſelf. I believe it will readily be allowed, that this ſlight prerogative alone, which has paſſed almoſt unobſerved amidſt other branches of ſo much greater importance, was ſufficient to extinguiſh all regular liberty. For what elector, or member of parliament, or even juryman, durſt oppoſe the will of the court, while he lay under the laſh of ſuch an arbitrary prerogative For a farther account of the grievous and incredible oppreſſions of purveyors, ſee the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. i. p. 190. There is a ſtory of a carter which may be worth mentioning on this occaſion. "A carter had three times been at Wind-"ſor with his cart to carry away, upon ſummons of a re-"move, ſome part of the ſtuff of her majeſty's wardrobe; "and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and the "third time, and that they of the wardrobe had told him "the third time that the remove held not, the carter, "clapping his hand on his thigh, ſaid, *Now I ſee that* "*the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Which words "being overheard by her majeſty, who then ſtood at the "window, ſhe ſaid, *What a villain is this?* and ſo ſent "him three angels to ſtop his mouth." Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

NOTE [FF], p. 358.

THIS year the nation ſuffered a great loſs, by the death of ſir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had paſſed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expence, yet died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, firſt married to ſir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Eſſex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and laſtly to the earl

earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The ſame year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in ſeveral embaſſies to Scotland; as did alſo the earl of Warwick, elder brother to Leiceſter.

NOTE [GG], p. 361.

THIS action of ſir Richard Greenville is ſo ſingular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spaniſh fleet of fifty-three ſail, which had ten thouſand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulſed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. In the beginning of the action he himſelf received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a freſh wound, he was carried down to be dreſſed. During this operation he received a ſhot in the head, and the ſurgeon was killed by his ſide. The Engliſh began now to want powder; all their ſmall arms were broken or become uſeleſs; of this number, which were but a hundred and three at firſt, forty were killed, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; their maſts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this ſituation ſir Richard propoſed to the ſhip's company, to truſt to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to deſtroy the ſhip with themſelves, rather than yield to the enemy. The maſter gunner, and many of the ſeamen, agreed to this deſperate reſolution; but others oppoſed it, and obliged Greenville to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. He died a few days after; and his laſt words were: "Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour: My ſoul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the laſting fame of having behaved as every valiant ſoldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards loſt in this ſharp, though unequal action, four ſhips, and about a thouſand men. And Greenville's veſſel periſhed ſoon after with

with two hundred Spaniards in her. Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.

NOTE [HH], p. 385.

IT is uſual for the ſpeaker to diſqualify himſelf for the office; but the reaſons employed by this ſpeaker are ſo ſingular, that they may be worth tranſcribing. "My "eſtate," ſaid he, "is nothing correſpondent for the "maintenance of this dignity; for my father dying, left "me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare "annuity. Then growing to man's eſtate, and ſome "ſmall practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I "have had many children; the keeping of us all being a "great impoveriſhing to my eſtate, and the daily living of "us all nothing but my daily induſtry. Neither from my "perſon nor my nature doth this choice ariſe: For he that "ſupplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, "ſtately and well-ſpoken, his voice great, his carriage "majeſtical, his nature haughty, and his purſe plentiful "and heavy: But contrarily the ſtature of my body is "ſmall, myſelf not ſo well ſpoken, my voice low, my "carriage lawyer-like, and of the common faſhion, my "nature ſoft and baſhful, my purſe thin, light, and never "yet plentiful.—If Demoſthenes, being ſo learned and "eloquent as he was, one whom none ſurpaſſed, trem-"bled to ſpeak before Phocion at Athens; how much "more ſhall I, being unlearned and unſkilful to ſupply "the place of dignity, charge and trouble, to ſpeak before "ſo many Phocions as here be? Yea, which is the great-"eſt, before the unſpeakable majeſty and ſacred perſonage "of our dread and dear ſovereign: The terror of whoſe "countenance will appal and abaſe even the ſtouteſt "hearts; yea, whoſe very name will pull down the "greateſt courage. For how mightily do the eſtate and "name of a prince deject the haughtieſt ſtomach even of "their greateſt ſubjects?" D'Ewes, p. 459.

NOTE [II], p. 392.

CABALA, p. 234. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 386. Speed, p. 877. The whole letter of Essex is so curious and so spirited, that the reader may not be displeased to read it. "My very good lord; Though there is not "that man this day living, whom I would sooner make "judge of any question that might concern me than "yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in "some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges: And "if any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on "earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment, with-"out trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your "lordship's argument, or else forsake mine own just de-"fence, I will force mine aching head to do me service "for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which "was forced, to be an humorous discontent; and that it "was unseasonable, or is of so long continuing, your lord-"ship should rather condole with me than expostulate: "Natural seasons are expected here below; but violent "and unseasonable storms come from above: There is no "tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; "nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth "on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and "painful labours. He that is once wounded must needs "feel smart till his hurt is cured, or the part hurt become "senseless: But cure I expect none, her majesty's heart "being obdurate against me; and be without sense I can-"not, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may "aim at the end: I do more than aim; for I see an end "of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. "In this course do I any thing for my enemies? When I "was at court I found them absolute; and therefore I "had rather they should triumph alone, than have me at-"tendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? "When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of "my love unto them; and now that I am a hermit, they "shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Or do I "forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? Or do I "overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of

" paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down?
" Or do I ruinate my honour, becauſe I leave following
" the purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or mark of the
" ſhadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to
" the foreign foe, becauſe I reſerve myſelf to encounter
" with him? Or becauſe I keep my heart from buſineſs,
" though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No,
" no, my good lord, I give every one of theſe conſidera-
" tions its due weight; and the more I weigh them, the
" more I find myſelf juſtified from offending in any of
" them. As for the two laſt objections, that I forſake my
" country when it hath moſt need of me, and fail in that
" indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my ſovereign; I an-
" ſwer, that if my country had at this time any need of
" my public ſervice, her majeſty, that governeth it, would
" not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my
" country by two bonds; one public, to diſcharge care-
" fully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to
" me; the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and
" carcaſe, which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt
" I am free, being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and diſabled by
" her majeſty: Of the other, nothing can free me but
" death; and therefore no occaſion of my performance
" ſhall ſooner offer itſelf but I ſhall meet it half way.
" The indiſſoluble duty which I owe unto her majeſty,
" is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have, nor
" never can fail in: The duty of attendance is no indiſ-
" ſoluble duty. I owe her majeſty the duty of an earl, and
" of lord marſhal of England. I have been content to
" do her majeſty the ſervice of a clerk; but I can never
" ſerve her as a villain or ſlave. But yet you ſay I muſt
" give way unto the time. So I do; for now that I ſee
" the ſtorm come, I have put myſelf into the harbour.
" Seneca ſaith, we muſt give way to fortune: I know that
" fortune is both blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as
" far as I can out of her way. You ſay the remedy is
" not to ſtrive: I neither ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy.
" But you ſay, I muſt yield and ſubmit; I can neither
" yield myſelf to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid
" upon me to be juſt: I owe ſo much to the Author of all
" truth, as I can never yield truth to be falſehood, nor
" falſehood to be truth. Have I given cauſe, you aſk;
" and yet take a ſcandal when I have done? No: I gave
" no

" no cause, not so much as Fimbria's complaint against " me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere:* Receive the " whole sword into my body. I patiently bear all, and " sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandal " was given me. Nay more, when the vilest of all in- " dignities are done unto me," &c. This noble letter Bacon afterwards, in pleading against Essex, called bold and presumptuous, and derogatory to her majesty. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 388.

NOTE [KK], p. 420.

MOST of queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it shewn to the queen. " My heart was never " broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so " far off, whom I have followed so many years, with so " great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am " now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While " she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once " in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even " now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, " that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, " hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle " wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like " a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, " sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like " Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss " hath bereaved me of all. O glory, that only shineth in " misfortune! what is become of thy assurance? All " wounds have scars but that of fantasy: All affections " their relenting but that of womankind. Who is the " judge of friendship but adversity, or when is grace wit- " nessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by " reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and " mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the " sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail " misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great

" heaps of ſweetneſs? I may then conclude, *Spes & fortuna, valete.* She is gone in whom I truſted; and of me " hath not one thought of mercy, nor any reſpect of that " which was. Do with me now therefore what you liſt. " I am more weary of life than they are deſirous I ſhould " periſh; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I " had been too happily born." Murden, 657. It is to be remarked that this nymph, Venus, goddeſs, angel, was then about ſixty. Yet five or ſix years after ſhe allowed the ſame language to be held to her. Sir Henry Unton, her ambaſſador in France, relates to her a converſation which he had with Henry IV. The monarch, after having introduced Unton to his miſtreſs, the fair Gabrielle, aſked him how he liked her? " I anſwered ſparingly in " her praiſe," ſaid the miniſter, " and told him, that if, " without offence, I might ſpeak it, I had the picture of " a far more excellent miſtreſs, and yet did her picture " come far ſhort of her perfection of beauty. As you " love me, ſaid he, ſhew it me if you have it about you. " I made ſome difficulties; yet, upon his importunity, " offered it to his view very ſecretly, holding it ſtill in " my hand: He beheld it with paſſion and admiration, " ſaying that I had reaſon, *Je me rends*, proteſting that he " had never ſeen the like; ſo, with great reverence, he " kiſſed it twice or thrice, I detaining it ſtill in my hand. " In the end, with ſome kind of contention, he took it " from me, vowing that I might take my leave of it; " for he would not forego it for any treaſure: And that " to poſſeſs the favour of the lively picture, he would forſake all the world, and hold himſelf moſt happy; with " many other moſt paſſionate ſpeeches." Murden, p. 718. For farther particulars on this head, ſee the ingenious author of the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors, article Eſſex.

NOTE [LL], p. 441.

IT may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome paſſages of theſe ſpeeches; which may ſerve to give us a juſt idea of the government of that age, and of the political principles which prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Laurence Hyde propoſed a bill, entituled, An act for the explanation

planation of the common law in certain cafes of letters patent. Mr. Spicer faid, This bill may touch the prerogative royal, which, as I learned the laft parliament, is fo tranfcendant, that the ——— of the fubject may not afpire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the ftate and prerogative royal of the prince fhould be tied by me, or by the act of any other fubject. Mr. Francis Bacon faid, As to the prerogative royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is fuch as I hope will never be difcuffed. The queen, as fhe is our fovereign, hath both an enlarging and reftraining power. For by her prerogative fhe may fet at liberty things reftrained by ftatute law or otherwife, and fecondly, by her prerogative fhe may reftrain things which be at liberty. For the firft, fhe may grant a *non obftante* contrary to the penal laws.—With regard to monopolies, and fuch like cafes, the cafe hath ever been to humble ourfelves unto her majefty, and by petition defire to have our grievances remedied, efpecially when the remedy toucheth her fo nigh in point of prerogative.—I fay, and I fay it again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her majefty's prerogative. I wifh therefore every man to be careful of this bufinefs. Dr. Bennet faid, He that goeth about to debate her majefty's prerogative had need to walk warily. Mr. Laurence Hyde faid, For the bill itfelf, I made it, and I think I underftand it: And far be it from this heart of mine to think this tongue to fpeak, or this hand to write any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her majefty's prerogative-royal and the ftate.—Mr. Speaker, quoth ferjeant Harris, for ought I fee, the houfe moveth to have this bill in the nature of a petition; it muft then begin with more humiliation. And truly, fir, the bill is good of itfelf, but the penning of it is fomewhat out of courfe. Mr. Montague faid, the matter is good and honeft, and I like this manner of proceeding by bill well enough in this matter. The grievances are great, and I would note only unto you thus much, that the laft parliament we proceeded by way of petition, which had no fuccefsful effect. Mr. Francis More faid, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal: Yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue, or conceive with my heart, the great grievances that the town and country, for which I ferve, fuffereth

suffereth by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the subjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather: There is a patent sets all at liberty notwithstanding that statute. And to what purpose is it to do any thing by act of parliament, when the queen will undo the same by her prerogative? Out of the spirit of humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it, there is no act of her's that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majesty, more odious to the subject, more dangerous to the commonwealth, than the granting of these monopolies. Mr. Martin said, I do speak for a town that grieves and pines, for a country that groaneth and languishes, under the burden of monstrous and unconscionable substitutes to the monopolitans of starch, tin, fish, cloth, oil, vinegar, salt, and I know not what; nay, what not? The principalest commodities both of my town and country are engrost into the hands of these blood-suckers of the commonwealth. If a body, Mr. Speaker, being let blood, be left still languishing without any remedy, how can the good estate of that body still remain? Such is the state of my town and country; the traffic is taken away, the inward and private commodities are taken away, and dare not be used without the license of these monopolitans. If these blood-suckers be still let alone to suck up the best and principalest commodities, which the earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the fruits of our own soil, and the commodities of our own labour, which, with the sweat of our brows, even up to the knees in mire and dirt, we have laboured for, shall be taken by warrant of supreme authority, which the poor subject dare not gainsay? Mr. George Moore said, we know the power of her majesty cannot be restrained by any act: Why therefore should we thus talk? Admit we should make this statute with a *non obstante*; yet the queen may grant a patent with a *non obstante*, to cross this *non obstante*. I think therefore it agreeth more with the gravity and wisdom of this house to proceed with all humbleness by petition than bill. Mr. Downland said, as I would be no let or overvehement in any thing, so I am not sottish or senseless of the common grievance of the commonwealth. If we proceed by way of petition, we can have no more gracious answer than we had the last parliament

to our petition. But ſince that parliament we have no reformation. Sir Robert Wroth ſaid, I ſpeak, and I ſpeak it boldly, theſe patentees are worſe than ever they were. Mr. Hayward Townſend propoſed, that they ſhould make ſuit to her majeſty, not only to repeal all monopolies grievous to the ſubject, but alſo that it would pleaſe her majeſty to give the parliament leave to make an act, that they might be of no more force, validity, or effect, than they are at the common law, without the ſtrength of her prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the act being ſo reaſonable, we might aſſure ourſelves her majeſty would not delay the paſſing thereof, yet we, her loving ſubjects, &c. would not offer, without her privity and conſent (the cauſe ſo nearly touching her prerogative), or go about to do any ſuch act.

On a ſubſequent day the bill againſt monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. Spicer ſaid, It is to no purpoſe to offer to tie her majeſty's hands by act of parliament, when ſhe may looſen herſelf at her pleaſure. Mr. Davies ſaid, God hath given that power to abſolute princes which he attributes to himſelf. *Dixi quod Dii eſtis.* (N. B. This axiom he applies to the kings of England.) Mr. ſecretary Cecil ſaid, I am ſervant to the queen, and before I would ſpeak and give conſent to a caſe that ſhould debaſe her prerogative, or abridge it, I would wiſh that my tongue were cut out of my head. I am ſure there were lawmakers before there were laws: (Meaning, I ſuppoſe, that the ſovereign was above the laws.) One gentleman went about to poſſeſs us with the execution of the law in an ancient record of 5 or 7 of Edward the third. Likely enough to be true in that time, when the king was afraid of the ſubject. If you ſtand upon law, and diſpute of the prerogative, hark ye what Bracton ſays, *Prærogativam noſtram nemo audeat diſputare.* And for my own part, I like not theſe courſes ſhould be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, ſhould perform the charge her majeſty gave unto you in the beginning of this parliament, not to receive bills of this nature: For her majeſty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hands ſtretched out to every man's petitions.—When the prince diſpenſes with a penal law, that is left to the alteration of ſovereignty, that is good and irrevocable. Mr. Montague ſaid, I am loth to ſpeak what I know, leſt, perhaps, I ſhould diſpleaſe. The prerogative

rogative royal is that which is now in queſtion, and which the laws of the land have ever allowed and maintained. Let us therefore apply by petition to her majeſty.

After the ſpeaker told the houſe that the queen had annulled many of the patents, Mr. Francis More ſaid, I muſt confeſs, Mr. Speaker, I moved the houſe both the laſt parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meant (and I hope the houſe thinketh ſo) to ſet limits and bounds to the prerogative royal. He proceeds to move, that thanks ſhould be given to her majeſty; and alſo, that whereas divers ſpeeches had been moved extravagantly in the houſe, which doubtleſs have been told her majeſty, and perhaps ill conceived of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave pardon for the ſame. N. B. Theſe extracts were taken by Townſend, a member of the houſe, who was no courtier; and the extravagance of the ſpeeches ſeems rather to be on the other ſide: It will certainly appear ſtrange to us, that this liberty ſhould be thought extravagant. However, the queen, notwithſtanding her cajoling the houſe, was ſo ill ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, that ſhe ſpoke of them peeviſhly in her concluding ſpeech, and told them that ſhe perceived that private reſpects with them were privately maſked under public preſence. D'Ewes, p. 619.

There were ſome other topics in favour of prerogative, ſtill more extravagant, advanced in the houſe this parliament. When the queſtion of the ſubſidy was before them, Mr. ſerjeant Heyle ſaid, Mr. Speaker, I marvel much that the houſe ſhould ſtand upon granting of a ſubſidy or the time of payment, when all we have is her majeſty's, and ſhe may lawfully at her pleaſure take it from us: Yea, ſhe hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown. At which all the houſe hemmed, and laughed, and talked. Well, quoth ſerjeant Heyle, all your hemming ſhall not put me out of countenance. So Mr. Speaker ſtood up and ſaid, It is a great diſorder, that this houſe ſhould be ſo uſed.—So the ſaid ſerjeant proceeded, and when he had ſpoken a little while, the houſe hemmed again; and ſo he ſat down. In his latter ſpeech, he ſaid, he could prove his former poſition by precedents in the time of Henry the third, king John, king Stephen, &c. which was the occaſion of their hemming. D'Ewes, p. 633. It is obſervable, that Heyle was

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an eminent lawyer, a man of character. Winwood, vol. i. p. 290. And though the house in general shewed their disapprobation, no one cared to take him down, or oppose these monstrous positions. It was also asserted this session, that in the same manner as the Roman consul was possessed of the power of rejecting or admitting motions in the senate, the speaker might either admit or reject bills in the house. D'Ewes, p. 677. The house declared themselves against this opinion; but the very proposal of it is a proof at what a low ebb liberty was at that time in England.

In the year 1591, the judges made a solemn decree, that England was an absolute empire, of which the king was the head. In consequence of this opinion, they determined that, even if the act of the first of Elizabeth had never been made, the king was supreme head of the church; and might have erected, by his prerogative, such a court as the ecclesiastical commission; for that he was the head of all his subjects. Now that court was plainly arbitrary: The inference is, that his power was equally absolute over the laity. See Coke's Reports, p. 5. Caudrey's case.

NOTE [MM], p. 471.

WE have remarked before, that Harrison, in book ii. chap. 11. says, that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues (*besides other malefactors*); this makes about two thousand a year: But in queen Elizabeth's time, the same author says, there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery: So much had the times mended. But in our age there are not forty a year hanged for those crimes in all England. Yet Harrison complains of the relaxation of the laws, that there were so few such rogues punished in his time. Our vulgar prepossession in favour of the morals of former and rude ages is very absurd and ill grounded. The same author says, chap. 10. that there were computed to be ten thousand gypsies in England; a species of banditti introduced about the reign of Henry VIII.; and he adds, that there will

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be no way of extirpating them by the ordinary courſe of juſtice: The queen muſt employ martial law againſt them. That race has now almoſt totally diſappeared in England, and even in Scotland, where there were ſome remains of them a few years ago. However arbitrary the exerciſe of martial law in the crown, it appears that nobody in the age of Elizabeth entertained any jealouſy of it.

NOTE [NN], p. 481.

HARRISON, *in his Deſcription of Britain, printed in* 1577, *has the following paſſage*, chap. 13. Certes, there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful ſort of ſhips than the queen's majeſty of England at this preſent; and thoſe generally are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.— The queen's highneſs hath at this preſent already made and furniſhed to the number of one and twenty great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham road. Beſide theſe, her grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave ſome farther remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black Galley, with the ſight whereof, and the reſt of the navy-royal, it is incredible to ſay how marvellouſly her grace is delighted; and not without great cauſe, ſith by their means her coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwiſe would invade us. *After ſpeaking of the merchant ſhips, which he ſays are commonly eſtimated at ſeventeen or eighteen hundred, he continues.* I add, therefore, to the end all men ſhould underſtand ſomewhat of the *great maſſes of treaſure* daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of thoſe ſhips of the firſt and ſecond ſort (that is of the merchant ſhips), that being apparelled and made ready to ſail, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſently be ſold. What ſhall we then think of the navy-royal,

royal, of which ſome one veſſel is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwright has often told me?—It is poſſible that ſome covetous perſon, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or ſuppoſe money ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers, as a good huſband ſaid once, when he heard that proviſions ſhould be made for armour, wiſhing the queen's money to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier return of gain unto her grace: But if he wiſt that the good keeping of the ſea is the ſafeguard of our land, he would alter his cenſure, and ſoon give over his judgment. *Speaking of the foreſts, this author ſays,* An infinite deal of wood hath been deſtroyed within theſe few years, and I dare affirm, that, if wood do go ſo faſt to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared that ſea-coal will be good merchandize even in the city of London. Harriſon's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years; for about 1615, there were two hundred ſail employed in carrying coal to London. See Anderſon, vol. i. p. 494.

NOTE [OO], p. 487.

LIFE of Burleigh, publiſhed by Collins, p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was conſidered only as ſmall in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds:* That he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thouſand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thouſand pounds ſterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldeſt ſon and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his ſecond ſon and three daughters. Were we therefore to underſtand the whole value of his plate to be only fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

NOTE [PP], p. 488.

HARRISON says, "the greatest part of our building "in the cities and good towns of England consisteth "only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the "wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the "Spaniards in queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly "when they saw that large diet was used in many of these "so homely cottages, insomuch that one of no small re-"putation amongst them said, after this manner; these "English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and "dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. "Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good "fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet "in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with "which our houses are commonly impanelled, is either "white, red, or blue." Book ii. chap. 12. The author adds, that the new houses of the nobility are commonly of brick or stone, and that glass windows were beginning to be used in England.

NOTE [QQ], p. 491.

THE following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen's preceptor. "It is your shame (I speak to "you all, you young gentlemen of England), that one "maid should go beyond ye all in excellency of learning, "and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the "best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together "show not so much good will, spend not so much time, "bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, "for the increase of learning and knowledge as doth the "queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe that, besides "her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and "Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek "every day, than some prebendary of this church doth "Latin in a whole week.—Amongst all the benefits which "God had blessed me withal, next the knowledge of "Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it

" pleafed God to call me to be one poor minifter in fetting " forward thefe excellent gifts of learning," &c. Page 242. Truly, fays Harrifon, it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language; and to fay how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, befides found knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no lefs fkilful in the Spanifh, Italian, and French, or in fome of them, it refteth not in me, fith I am perfuaded, that as the noblemen and gentlemen do furmount in this behalf, fo thefe come little or nothing at all behind them for their parts; which induftry God continue.—The ftranger, that entereth in the court of England upon the fudden, fhall rather imagine himfelf to come into fome public fchool of the univerfity, where many give ear to one that readeth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you confer thus with thofe of other nations. Defcription of Britain, book ii. chap. 15. By this account the court had profited by the example of the queen. The fober way of life practifed by the ladies of Elizabeth's court appears from the fame author. Reading, fpinning, and needle-work, occupied the elder; mufic the younger. Id. ibid.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL ✻ THE TANJORE